



JOURNAL  
OF THE  
BOMBAY BRANCH  
OF THE  
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY  
(New Series)

EDITED BY

DR. V. S. SUKTHANKAR, M.A., PH.D. (Berlin)  
A. A. A. FYZEE, M.A. (Cantab.), Bar.-at-Law  
PROF. N. K. BHAGWAT, M.A.

VOLUME 17  
1941



33190

S.A.S.

PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY  
NOVEMBER 1941

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LONDON AGENT:  
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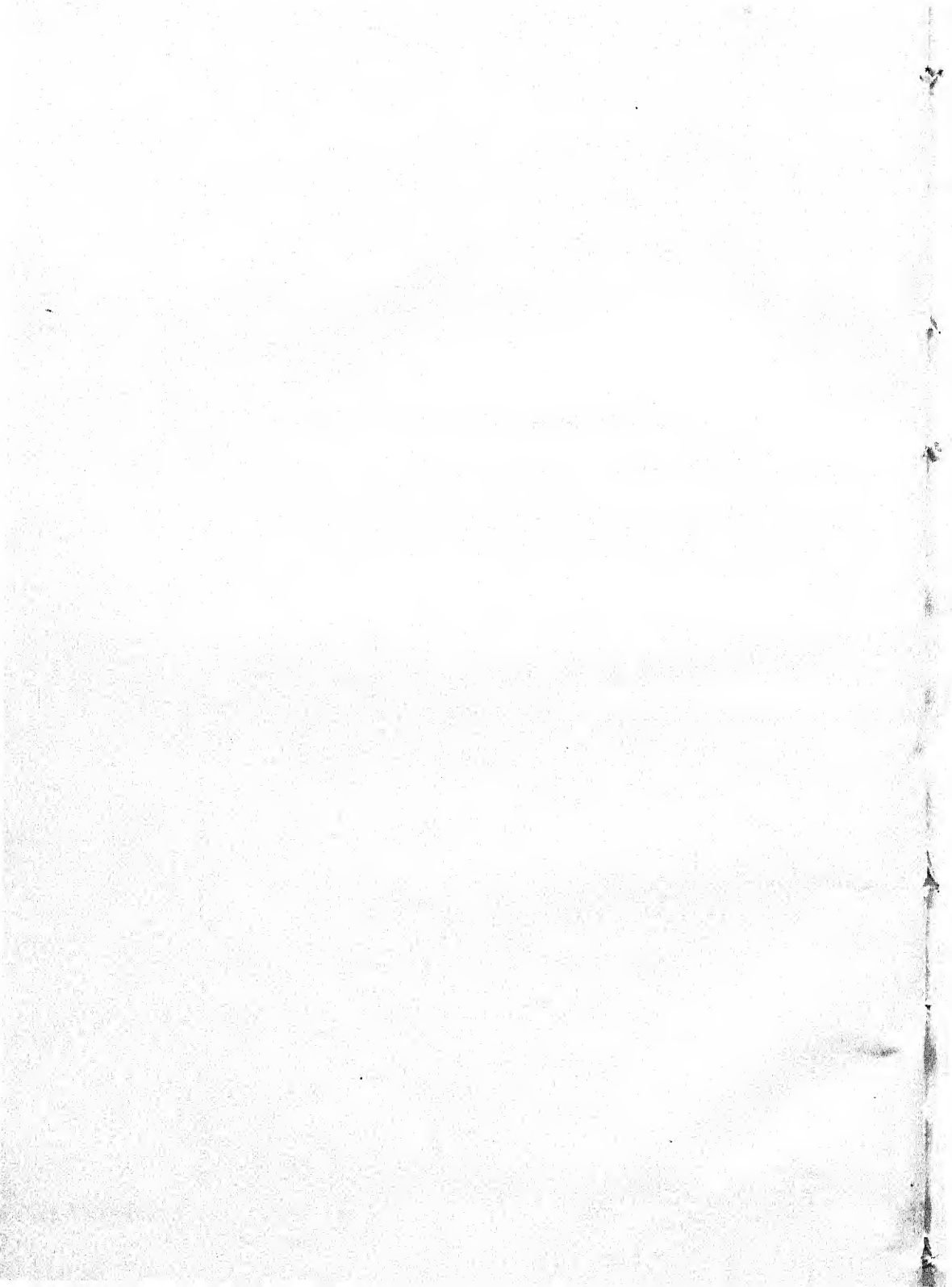
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EARLY SHI'ITE MOVEMENTS

By W. IVANOW

So far there is no comprehensive study of the whole of the early Shi'ite movement which manifested itself in a long series of sectarian formations, and especially Shi'ite risings, led by hundreds of different members of the gradually increasing family of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. There was always too much of a tendency in the works of historians to treat Shi'ite sectarian movements as purely religious developments created by the influence of pre-Islamic religions on Islam newly introduced among the masses. And the risings of different Alids are usually attributed to the ubiquitous "Alid intrigue", isolated subversive activities of factions pursuing entirely secular political aims. The works which touch on this subject are inadequate. The latest among these are: the monograph by J. Wellhausen, "*Die Religiös-politischen Oppositions-parteien im alten Islam*" (Berlin, 1901), which is chiefly concerned with the rivalry of different groups of Arab tribes; or G. van Vloten's "*Recherches sur la Domination Arabe et Chi'itisme*" (Amsterdam, 1894), which is very superficial, indeed.

All such references to Shi'ite movement are almost invariably derived from non-Shi'ite authors; and, generally speaking, non-Shi'ite usually means anti-Shi'ite, with all the implications of a rabidly hostile attitude. Shi'ite sources are very few, not easily accessible, and require a considerable amount of preparatory work. But their study well repays the labour, because it offers a more correct idea of the subject. Taken from their angle of vision, there was not much difference between what is treated as "sects" and "political" risings. As is known, historians usually have two formulae for introducing these; the first, sectarian movements,

usually have the following scheme: so-and-so proclaimed himself an incarnation of the Deity (or the prophet, or Imam, as the case may be), and began to preach such-and-such impious doctrines. Sectarian developments of this kind are chiefly dealt with in the works of different heresiologists, who usually pay little attention to their political aims and activities. The other group has the following scheme: rose so-and-so, and began to call people (to support his claims to supreme authority) for himself,—*gām fulān wa da'ā ilā nafsi-hi*. As I have already endeavoured to emphasise in my preceding paper, "Ismailis and Qarmatians" (*JBBRAS*, 1940, pp. 43–85), such difference in the majority of cases was illusory, due to inaccuracies of reports, and their implied tendencies. Neither were sectarian movements so impious as they are painted, nor were the "political" risings free from religious basis. Most probably the real case was that Shi'ism in general, as a religion, differed very little, even in the cases of the most "impious" sects, from the religion of their "orthodox" opponents. Freakish beliefs, reported by heresiologists, probably occupied only a secondary position, just as the different forms of superstition occupy even now. And certain political aspirations always formed an inseparable part of the doctrine.

The sight of the persistent anti-dynastic movement spread over several centuries, periodically strengthening to the extent of a grand revolution, as in the cases of the movement of Abū Muslim, of the rise of the Fatimids, etc., is really noteworthy; it is apparently quite unique in history. It decidedly indicates the presence of one continuous cause working in one and the same direction through ages. To the modern man such persistence of a cause would appear quite strange, but there is a profound difference between the outlook of modern times and Islam a thousand years ago. The modern man, feeling the pinch of some political or social inconvenience, would blame the inefficiency or corruption of individual agents of the government, party leaders, or even the whole system, the laws, made by legislative organs, etc. He rarely connects all this with a dynastic question. The Muslim of a thousand years ago was in quite a different position. For him law, regulating every aspect of life, not only personal, and family, but also social and political, was inseparably connected with religion. It was based on Divine Revelation, and as such was eternal, unchangeable, and, in itself, perfect, guaranteeing complete perfection of the state of affairs if applied to life as thoroughly as it should be. It was beyond criticism, beyond any idea of improvement, or being perfected. The extortionate revenue officer, or corrupt judge, or even the governor, or sultan himself, who, prompted by necessities of the state, would introduce additional legislation, not supported by the religious code, were not only unjust, corrupt, or tyrannical in the eyes of the Muslim subjects, but also sinful, impious, anti-religious, enemies of God, disobedient to His dictates as revealed through His Apostle. Therefore the struggle had to be carried on not as in modern times

for this or that *system* of social or state legislation, but for or against the *person* of the ruler. Law was perfect, but those who applied it were bad.

That Muslim law could secure ideal conditions was perfectly clear for every Muslim from the picture of the earliest period of Islam, under its Founder,—the picture which in the course of time was more and more coloured by legend, and idealised. It was that Golden Age when all were pious, brotherly, and kind to each other. This was because the Prophet was the mouthpiece of God Himself, who ruled His own people, guiding them in everything. And if He did this at that early time, it would be inconsistent with His mercy and justice to abandon them completely to their own efforts, leaving them at the mercy of the voracious and vile dictators and usurpers. As expressed in some "prophecies", voicing popular sentiment of a much later period than the Prophet's,—"they will oppress you, pounding and grinding you as if under a mill stone, until you will begin to say: o, if only we could have as our ruler a man from the progeny of the Prophet,—verily he would take mercy on us". Piety, i.e. respect to religion, active and unflinching, might be, it is true, found in different individuals. But experience shows that an individual in his private capacity may behave quite differently when authority is placed in his hands. Some guarantee was demanded by popular sentiment, and such a guarantee could only be found in descent from the Prophet, hereditary pre-disposition to piety. Surely, a son, grandson, and so on, of the Prophet himself could not be an impious person. This belief was shared even by non-Shi'ites. Therefore a whole cycle of messianic expectations, of different legends, prophecies, etc., was in circulation, demanding a ruler from the house of the Prophet, who would surely fill the earth with justice and equity to the same degree as it was filled with injustice, oppression and tyranny.

The demand inevitably created the supply, and an enormous series of Alids, or even semi-Alids, i.e. descendants of 'Abbās, and Ja'far b. Abi Tālib, offered their good services to this end, all over the vast territory of the Omayyad and Abbasid empire, from Daylam and Tabaristan to the Yaman, and from the confines of China to the Atlantic coast. Many of such risings, led by different Alids, were purely local affairs, revolts against some particularly oppressive local authorities. Quite naturally, they were most frequent in the immediate proximity of the capital of the caliphate, in Mesopotamia itself, within easy reach of the numerous officials of the rapidly decaying Abbasid government. Troubles of this kind seem to have been endemic in Kufa, Basra, and their dependencies. In great majority of cases such risings were small, futile adventures or escapades, without any serious organisation, thoughtless, very injurious to the movement. The insurgents were, according to an aphorism attributed to Imam Muḥammad al-Bāqir, "like young birds, jumping from their nests before their wings were sufficiently strong to fly. They could only jump once or twice before being

caught by children, who would make them their toys, and kill them".

In the great scarcity of Shi'ite sources for the study of the movement every work containing information of this kind is precious. A work such as the *Sharḥu'l-akḥbār* of Qāḍī Nu'mān is doubly interesting; it is a work of Ismaili origin, and a very early one, compiled about 350/961 from early sources of which many are possibly lost. It therefore well deserves to be properly noticed in this short paper so as to attract the attention of possible students of the subject.

The *Sharḥu'l-akḥbār fī faḍā'il-l-A'immati'l-athār*, by the most brilliant jurist, theologian, and historian of the Fatimid dynasty, Abū Ḥanifa an-Nu'mān b. Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr b. Aḥmad b. Ḥayyūn at-Tamīmī of Qayrawān (d. 363/974),—cf. W. Ivanow, *Guide to Ismaili Literature*, no. 68,—is an epitome of the earlier works of the author. It contains much new material, but also substantial extracts, paraphrased from the *Iftitāḥu'd-da'wa* (*Guide*, 103), *Ma'ālimu'l-Mahdī* (*Guide*, 101, lost), *al-Manāqib li-ahl bayt Rasūli'l-lāh* (*Guide*, 102), etc. Its subject is tradition about the Prophet, 'Alī, and the Imams up to al-Mahdī. The work is divided into 16 parts (*juz'*); in this paper we are concerned with the XIVth which deals with information regarding Imam Muḥammad b. 'Alī (al-Bāqir), Imam Ja'far b. Muḥammad (aṣ-Ṣādiq), and then, instead of the expected information about his successors in the Imamāt, with the numerous Alids (and semi-Alids) who were the predecessors of al-Mahdī in his claims to the caliphate. According to the author, they failed, and were bound to fail, because they claimed what really was not intended by God for them, but what was the mission of him whose advent was predicted in many different revelations by the Prophet, in the Coran and in additional utterances,—al-Mahdī, the founder of the Fatimid dynasty, proclaimed as caliph in Raqqāda in 297/909.

From other works of Qāḍī Nu'mān, especially his *al-Manāqib li-ahl bayt* (*Guide*, 102), it is obvious that in addition to his theological and legal studies, he was well versed in history, especially the history of the period of the Omayyads. It is rather disappointing that although he always mentions his own works when he quotes them, he does not mention his sources of historical information. It is doubtful whether he had the *Annals* of Tabari at his disposal; in any case he refers to many names which are not mentioned in Tabari's work. As is known, the latter gives many details concerning Shi'ite risings near the beginning of the Abbasid caliphate, but his information concerning the third c. A.H. is rather insufficient in this respect. Qāḍī Nu'mān similarly quotes many details in regard to such early risings, but for the subsequent period he usually gives nothing but the bare names of the Alid insurgents. Thus it is clear that both had at their disposal some detailed sources for an earlier period, and it would be interesting to identify these. I cannot attempt to do this by reason of insufficient library material

at my disposal. It may be noted that the account of Shi'ite risings forms only a side subject in Qāḍī Nu'mān's work; therefore his brevity may be in some cases intentional, although in the majority of cases he probably could not discover much information about the events.

As the text of the *Sharḥu'l-akḥbār*, in the portion with which we are here concerned, chiefly consists of names, it would serve no special purpose to edit the original here. Moreover, students in Europe can refer to the copy which is in the possession of the library of the School of Oriental Studies, London.<sup>1</sup> The work, in any case, is one of the most interesting sources for the study of early Shi'ism, and therefore well merits a complete edition.

It may be added here that a substantial portion of the XIVth part of the *Sharḥ* has been incorporated in the fourth volume of the great compendium of the Ismaili tradition and history, by Sayyid-nā Idrīs (d. 872/1468), his '*Uyūnu'l-akḥbār* (completed in 842/1438; cf. *Guide*, no. 258). His purpose was quite different: he mentions early risings amongst the events contemporary with the Imams: Ja'far, his son Ismā'il, and grandson—Muḥammad b. Ismā'il. He therefore quotes, literally, the portion of the XIVth *juz'* from its beginning to the events ending with the death of 'Alī b. Mūsā ar-Riḍā, in 203/818. He adds information derived from other sources, such as Shahrastānī, 'Ukbarī, *Kitābu'z-zīna* of Abū Hātim ar-Rāzī (beg. IV/Xth c.; cf. *Guide*, no. 18), and apparently some other works which cannot be identified. On one occasion he even refers to Tabarī.

As the details of the earlier risings are well-known, the story is condensed here. In the references to the movements of the III/IXth c. many names are mentioned which cannot be traced even in the '*Umdatul-t-tālib* of Ibn 'Inaba (d. 825/1422), who usually is remarkably well informed. It is possible that Qāḍī Nu'mān collected these from works which are no longer accessible.

We may first take up the movements which come under the definition of "rising", i.e. armed struggle.

The earliest movement mentioned by the author is that of a certain Kaysān, a *mawla* of 'Alī, an associate of al-Mukhtār, who rose in a rebellion intended to avenge the murder of al-Husayn b. 'Alī, and supported the rights of Muḥammad [I] b. al-Ḥanafiyya, a son of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. The latter was arrested in Mekka, with fifteen followers, by Ibn Zubayr, the governor, and kept in prison, from which al-Mukhtār made an attempt to release him.<sup>2</sup> Different

<sup>1</sup> See A. S. Tritton (and P. Kraus), "Notes on some Ismaili Manuscripts", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, vol. VII (1933), p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> As is known, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya usually appears in non-Shi'ite histories as playing a purely passive part in all such movements. He died in 81/700-1 in Madīna. Cf. an article on him in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (by F. Buhl), vol. III, p. 671, where references to Tabarī and other early sources are given. It may be added that according to the '*Umdatul-t-tālib*, a Shi'ite genealogical work by Aḥmad b. 'Alī, known as Ibn 'Inaba (d. 825/1422 or 828/1425) (lith. Bombay, 1318/1900), p. 319 sqq., he left

branches of the Shi'ites supported the rights of Muḥammad b. al-Hanafīyya. Some of them considered that Imamāt was transferred to al-Ḥasan, then to al-Ḥusayn, and after him to Muḥammad b. al-Hanafīyya, but others believed that the latter was the only real Imam after his father, 'Alī. Some believed that he never died, others that he died, and appointed in place of himself Abū Ḥāshim [2] 'Abdu'l-lāh, his eldest son, who also died,<sup>1</sup> but who will return as the promised Mahdī to fill the earth with justice. Others again believed that he appointed in place of himself his brother 'Alī [3] b. Muḥammad, and the latter, in his turn, his own son al-Ḥasan [4], and the latter his own son, 'Alī [5]. They believed that the Imamāt remained in the descendants of Muḥammad b. al-Hanafīyya, and could not be transferred to others, and that the Mahdī will come from their house. Another branch of these thought that Abū Ḥāshim, mentioned above, died, and appointed 'Abdu'l-lāh [6] b. Mu'āwiya b. 'Abdi'l-lāh b. Ja'far b. Abī Tālib,<sup>2</sup> then a child, after him, in charge of a certain Ṣāliḥ b. Mudrik (acting as a temporary Imam); the latter handed over the authority to his charge on the latter's attainment of majority.<sup>3</sup> He became the ruler (*ṣāḥib*) of Isfahan, was imprisoned by Abū Muslim, and ultimately executed. But certain of his followers believed that he was not dead, but was concealed somewhere in the hills near Isfahan, that he was the promised Mahdī, predicted by the Prophet, and that he would not die until he had filled the earth with justice.

Another branch admitted that he died without having appointed anyone to succeed him; they believed in their headmen being their Imams.<sup>4</sup>

A certain branch believed that Abū Ḥāshim [2], the son of Muḥammad b. al-Hanafīyya, appointed after himself Muḥammad [7] b. 'Alī b. 'Abdi'l-lāh b. 'Abbās,<sup>5</sup> and the latter, in his turn, appointed his own father, 'Alī [8] b. 'Abdi'l-lāh b. 'Abbās, when dying in

24 children, of whom 14 were males. By the time of Ibn 'Inaba all the lines except two were extinct, and only a small number of his descendants were known in Kufa, Persia, and Egypt, from his sons Ja'far and 'Alī.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Enc. of Islam*, vol. I, p. 91. He died in the reign of Sulaymān b. 'Abdi'l-Malik (96-99/715-717) in Ḥumayma, South of the Dead Sea, where he was living in exile.

<sup>2</sup> He rose in Kūfa in Muḥarram 127/Oct. 744, was defeated, but was able to withdraw to Persia (cf. his story further on). See *Enc. of Islam*, vol. I, pp. 26-27; Tabari II, 1879-87, 1947-8, 1976-80. Cf. also *'Umda*, pp. 21-22. He was ultimately overpowered by Abū Muslim, imprisoned in Herat, in 129/746-7, and was either executed, or, as the author of the *'Umda* says, was kept in the prison till 133/799, when he died. His grave was still shown in Herat in 776/1374-5, when the author visited it.

<sup>3</sup> Tabari, III, 2183, 2191-2, refers to a Ṣāliḥ b. Mudrik, but this is quite a different person, who lived more than a century later.

<sup>4</sup> This sounds very interesting; has this something to do with the Qarmatians of Baḥrayn?

<sup>5</sup> It is usually considered that Muḥammad succeeded his father, 'Alī, as the head of the house. The latter died in 117/735-6, or in the next year, in Ḥumayma, in the same province of ash-Sharāt. Cf. *Enc. of Islam*, vol. I, pp. 282-3. Tabari refers to these on many occasions.



ash-Sharāt in Syria,<sup>1</sup> while still very young. But another branch asserted that he appointed after himself his own son, Ibrāhīm [9], in whose favour Abū Muslim was carrying on propaganda, stating that the Imamāt was handed to his father, Muḥammad b. 'Alī, by Abū Hāshim, and that this Muḥammad b. 'Alī transferred it to the Abbasids.<sup>2</sup>

The author then refers to the Zaydīs, and their doctrine of the Imamāt. As is known, this branch originally recognised as their Imams: Ḥasan, Husayn, 'Alī (Zaynu'l-'ābidīn), his son Zayd [10], then Yaḥyā [11] b. Zayd, and then Muḥammad [12] b. 'Abdi'l-lāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Tālib, and thereafter many others, demanding only unimpeachable Alid genealogy from the candidates, whether of the Hasanid or Husaynid lines.

Zayd [10] b. 'Alī was killed,<sup>3</sup> and his son, Yaḥyā [11] b. Zayd, who was related to the line of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, through his mother, Rayṭa bint Abī Hāshim 'Abdi'l-lāh b. Muḥammad,<sup>4</sup> fled to Persia (Khurāsān) in the reign of al-Walīd b. 'Abdi'l-Malik, the Omayyad (86-96/705-715); he was intercepted by Naṣr b. Sayyār before he succeeded in crossing the river (Amū-Daryā ?), was attacked, and killed in the skirmish; his head was sent to the local governor, Yūsuf b. 'Umar, through Qays b. Zayd al-Ḥanzalī,<sup>5</sup> and the latter forwarded it to al-Walīd, who sent orders to exhume his body and to burn it.<sup>6</sup>

Abū Hāshim [2] 'Abdu'l-lāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya, when he presented his claims to the caliphate (= Imamāt), was poisoned by Sulaymān b. 'Abdi'l-Malik, the Omayyad (96-99/715-717), who summoned him to his capital. Muḥammad [7] b. 'Alī b. 'Abdi'l-lāh b. al-'Abbās, who was also at that time in the palace, was summoned to him while he was dying, and some say that he was appointed to succeed Abū Hāshim.<sup>7</sup>

'Abdu'l-lāh [6] b. Mu'āwiya b. 'Abdi'l-lāh b. Ja'far b. Abī Tālib, one of those of whom it was said that they were appointed

<sup>1</sup> A province South of the Dead Sea. Here in the text it appears as as-Sarāt, but this is an obvious mistake (the latter is the name of the hills along the Red Sea in Southern Arabia). Cf. the preceding footnote.

<sup>2</sup> This Ibrāhīm was the brother of the first two Abbasid caliphs, born in 82/701-2, lived in Ḥumayma, was captured by Marwān II in 129/747, and murdered in Harrān. Cf. *Enc. of Islam*, vol. II, p. 436. The story of the "transfer" of the claim to the Imamāt from the descendants of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya to the descendants of 'Abbās is generally a highly suspicious matter, probably a legend started and cultivated in Abbasid circles at a much later date.

<sup>3</sup> See *Enc. of Islam*, vol. IV, p. 1193 sq. (art. by R. Strothmann). He was killed in a rising in Kūfa in 122/740. Tabari has an interesting account of these events, in II, 1667-88 and 1698-1716.

<sup>4</sup> She is not mentioned by Tabari. Cf. Nawbakhtī, *Firaq ash-Shi'a*, p. 51.

<sup>5</sup> Not mentioned by Tabari.

<sup>6</sup> See the art. by R. Strothmann in *Enc. of Islam*, IV, 1151-2, where bibliography is given. He was killed in 125/743 in Gūzgān. According to Yāqūt, his body was left hanging over the city gate until the followers of Abū Muslim occupied the place, and buried it.

<sup>7</sup> About them see above, p. 6.



by Abū Hāshim as his successors, rose in Kūfa, in 127/745, collecting a number of followers; in accordance with the advice of his friends he went to Fārs, and on his way there, to Isfahan, where he had much success, bringing under his authority both this province, and also Fārs. He appointed his brothers al-Ḥasan [13] to Iṣṭakhr, Yazīd [14] to Shīrāz, 'Alī [15] to Kirmān, and Ṣālih [16] to Qum. Many Hashimites joined him including Abū'l-'Abbās and Abū Ja'far Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abdī'l-lāh b. 'Abbās, to whom he assigned (the governorship of) certain districts.

This 'Abdu'l-lāh b. Mu'āwiya was attacked in Iṣṭakhr by the forces of the Omayyads, as described here in detail, fled, but was caught with his associates by Mālik b. al-Haytham, who handed him over to Abū Muslim, and the latter executed him together with some of his brothers, while some of them were set free.<sup>1</sup>

Muḥammad [12] b. 'Abdī'l-lāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib,<sup>2</sup> the Zaydī Imam, mentioned above, started secret propaganda in his own favour, giving himself out as the expected Mahdī. As such he was already proclaimed by his father from his birth, on account of the prophecy: the Mahdī had to be called by the same name as the Prophet, i.e. Muḥammad b. 'Abdī'l-lāh. He rose in the concluding years of the Omayyad period, finding strong support in many other Hashimites (names are mentioned by the author). A long account is given of how the rising of Abū Muslim and the Abbasids caused him and his brother Ibrāhīm to flee. His father, 'Abdu'l-lāh [17], was left unmolested; but later on, the second Abbasid caliph (136-158/754-775) caused Muḥammad b. 'Abdī'l-lāh, together with his father and brothers [18] Ibrāhīm, [19] al-Ḥasan, and [20] Dā'ūd, to be arrested, cast into chains, and imprisoned. Muḥammad and Ibrāhīm, however, succeeded in escaping in the desert while being conveyed. He suddenly appeared in Madīna on the 1st of Rajab 145/25-X-762; a large following joined him, he overthrew the local authorities in Mekka, and even Baṣra, where his brother Ibrāhīm [18] received much support. The

<sup>1</sup> For references see above, p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Tabari has many references to him,—III, 66, 143-265, etc. Cf. F. Buhl's art. in *Enc. of Islam*, III, 665-6. It appears that for some reason he commanded such prestige that he was regarded as the head of the Alid family, completely eclipsing Muḥammad al-Bāqir, and his son Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq. His claims were officially recognised by the majority of the Alids and others, including the future Abbasid caliph, Abū Ja'far ad-Dawānīqī (ascended in 136/754). Cf. also 'Umda, pp. 79 sq. He was surnamed *Dhū'n-naḥsī'z-zakīyyā*. Legends are preserved about him: his mother was pregnant four years with him before he was born in the year 100/718 (in accordance with the expectations of the Mahdī by that time); he had a mole of a peculiar shape between his shoulders, etc. ('Umda, 80). Abū'l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī narrates (in his book *Maqātilu't-Ṭālibīyyīn*) that Imam Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq himself on one occasion held the stirrup for him while he was mounting his horse. When he was asked by his followers about this, he said: "He is our Mahdī, from the house of the Prophet" ('Umda, 81). His son, after the death of his father, fled to India, but was killed in the hills near Kābul,—his name was 'Abdu'l-lāh al-Ashtar. He left a son in Sindh.

famous general 'Īsā b. Mūsā was sent against him with a considerable force. The insurgents dispersed, and Muḥammad b. 'Abdī'l-lāh was easily overcome, and killed in battle in the middle of Ramaḍān of the same year, 145/762. His brother Ibrāhīm who had already been for two years in Baṣra, was also defeated by 'Īsā b. Mūsā, and killed on the 25th Dhū'l-hijja 145/16-III-763. His head was sent to al-Manṣūr who was then in Kūfa.<sup>1</sup>

The son of Muḥammad b. 'Abdī'l-lāh, also 'Abdu'l-lāh [21], was killed in Tabaristan;<sup>2</sup> his brother Mūsā [22], who preached in Syria, came to Anbar, near Baṣra, after the death of Muḥammad, was caught there, and died in prison.<sup>3</sup>

Another Alid, the governor of Madīna, al-Ḥasan [23] b. Zayd b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, who helped Muḥammad b. 'Abdī'l-lāh, intended to rise against al-Manṣūr, but was arrested and imprisoned, with his son 'Alī. The son died in prison, but the father was set free by the next caliph, al-Mahdī, after his accession in 158/775, together with some other Hashimites.<sup>4</sup>

Another Alid, al-Ḥusayn [24] b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan,<sup>5</sup> the one who was killed at Fakhkh, lived in Baghdad deprived of the right to leave the city. Later on al-Mahdī (158-169/775-785) permitted him to settle in Jurjān (Gurgān). He, however, later on, at the end of 167/784, found himself in Madīna, where strong support was given to him. He moved to Mekka, but was met at Fakhkh by a strong force (details are given), was defeated, and fell in battle, on the 1st Muḥarram 169/14-VII-785. Several other Alids perished in the same battle, others surrendered and lived for some time, as al-Ḥasan [25] b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib,<sup>6</sup> who was later killed, and some others.

Yahyā [26] b. 'Abdī'l-lāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan<sup>7</sup> fled to Daylam, where he collected a force, and started a serious rebellion in the reign of ar-Rashīd (170-193/786-809). Strong forces were

<sup>1</sup> His surname is "Qatīl Bākhmrā", after the place at which he fell in battle against 'Īsā b. Mūsā, while advancing against Kūfa. Cf. *Enc. of Islam*, II, 432, and *Umda*, p. 85, where he is described as a man of exceptional physical strength, and great learning. The date of his death is given by F. Buhl as the 15th Dh. Qa'da 145/14-2-763.

<sup>2</sup> As we have seen above, according to the *Umda*, he was killed near Kābul on his way to Sindh.

<sup>3</sup> He is referred to in Tabari III, 215-217, 256, 257, 260-2. In *Umda*, p. 88, it is stated that his surname was *al-Jawn* ("white"),—he was black, of negroid type, and his mother has given him this surname as an euphemism). He was a poet, and apparently had nothing to do with politics. The author of the *Umda* does not mention anything about his rising or dying in prison, and there is a note of buffoonery in the episodes in which he makes his appearance.

<sup>4</sup> See about him *Enc. of Islam*, II, 277. He was the governor of Madīna in 150-155/767-772, and died, according to the *Umdatul-tālib*, 48, in 168/784. As the author adds, he was the first amongst the Alids who introduced the custom of wearing black garments, and who attained the ripe age of eighty.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Umda*, 161. The *Uyūnu'l-akhbār* gives a long story about him.

<sup>6</sup> Apparently not mentioned either by Tabari or in *Umda*.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Tabari, III, 552-4, 564, 612-624, 669-672, and *Umda*, 80, 134.

mobilised against him under al-Faḍl b. Yaḥyā.<sup>1</sup> Apparently owing to the support of different parties at the court, he was dealt with leniently, and generous terms were offered to him for surrender. He was taken to Baghdad, and later on to Madīna, where he died in prison; some say that he was killed, others that he was imprisoned in a well, and was found dead there.

Idrīs [27] b. 'Abdī'l-lāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib<sup>2</sup> participated in the battle of Fakhkh, mentioned above. He escaped to Egypt whence he went to Maghrib, and here found great support amongst the Berbers. He was poisoned by an agent of ar-Rashīd, but his dynasty continued to rule there.

Aḥmad [28] b. 'Isā b. Zayd b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib<sup>3</sup> found refuge in 'Abādān, near Baṣra. In 185/801 it was reported that he prepared a rebellion in the provinces of Baṣra, Ahwāz, etc. 'Isā ad-Dawrā'i, a local governor, marched to Ahwāz, ostensibly to punish some "heretics" (*zanādīqa*). Aḥmad b. 'Isā acted in accord with [29] Ibn Idrīs (apparently the same who went to the Maghrib)<sup>4</sup> through certain Berbers (as narrated in detail). The governor, under the guise of a friend, and on the pretext of helping them to escape to the Maghrib via Wāsiṭ and Kūfa, lured them into boats, and took them directly to Baghdad, where they managed to escape, and came to Baṣra, where they concealed themselves till the death of Aḥmad. He left two sons, [30] Muḥammad and [31] 'Alī.<sup>5</sup> This Muḥammad died in Syria in 255/869.<sup>6</sup> Cf. no. 77.

A certain Abū's-Sarāyā al-Ḥasan b. al-Manṣūr b. Rabi'a<sup>7</sup> started in 199/814 preaching in favour of Muḥammad [32] b. Ibrāhīm Ṭabāṭabā.<sup>8</sup> He summoned people to follow the ruler (*waṣī*) from the house of the Prophet, his Book, and his example (*sunnat*). This Abū's-Sarāyā was an officer in the forces of Huṣayma b. A'yan. When the pay of his men fell into arrear, he mutined, came to Anbār, defeated the local governor, and picked up Ibn Ṭabāṭabā, who is mentioned above. The latter was imprisoned during the reign of ar-Rashīd, but released during the anarchy which accompanied the struggle between his successors. There was with him Muḥammad [33] b. 'Alī b. 'Abdī'l-lāh b. Ja'far (b. Abī Ṭālib),<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> One of the Barmakid family.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Tabari, III, 257, 554, 561, and 'Umda, 80, 138.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Tabari, III, 1532, 1533, 1585, 1626, and 'Umda, 259.

<sup>4</sup> Apparently this is the same person as Idrīs b. Idrīs, who died in 240/854, according to 'Umda, 138.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. 'Umda, 260.

<sup>6</sup> According to 'Umda, 261, this Muḥammad was the ancestor of Ṣāhibū'z-Zanj (cf. E.I., IV, 1213), who was, or pretended to be, 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad.

<sup>7</sup> As to this insurrection see Tabari, III, 976-986.

<sup>8</sup> According to the 'Uyūnu'l-akhbār, vol. IV, his full name was: Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Ṭabāṭabā b. Ismā'il b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. 'Umda, 142, 218.

<sup>9</sup> Not mentioned by Tabari. Obviously not a descendant of aṣ-Ṣādiq.

who also started preaching in his own favour, but soon died. Ibn Tabātabā had little success, went to Kūfa, where he hid himself until he was found by Abū's-Sarāyā, who swore allegiance to him, and organised propaganda. This met with great success. They occupied Wāsiṭ and Kūfa, and advanced as far as Nahr Ṣarṣar, where they met with forces sent out by the government against them. These forces could not effect much, and al-Ḥasan b. Sahl, the commanding officer, asked support from Huzayma, who was camping in Ḥulwān, intending to move into Persia to join al-Ma'mūn. The support was given, the rebels were attacked, put to flight, pursued up to Qaṣr Ibn Hubayra, and fled to Kūfa, where Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm Tabātabā al-'Alawī died. The energetic Abū's-Sarāyā took up an Alid boy, Muḥammad [34] b. Muḥammad b. Zayd b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn,<sup>1</sup> instead of the deceased Ibn Tabātabā, and preached in his favour. He was defeated by Huzayma, fled from Kūfa, which Huzayma occupied for some time before he went to Persia, to join Ma'mūn. Abū's-Sarāyā was caught and executed; the 'Alid boy was sent to Ma'mūn in Persia; he was also executed later on.

Another Alid who participated in the battle of Fakhkh was 'Abdu'l-lāh <sup>2</sup> [35] b. al-Ḥasan surnamed al-Aṭṭas (i.e. "flat-nosed") (b. Zayd) b. 'Alī (Zaynī'l-'ābidīn).<sup>3</sup> He surrendered, was imprisoned, and executed by Ja'far b. Yaḥyā al-Barmaki under ar-Rashīd.

Also al-Ḥasan [36] b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd b. 'Alī (Zaynī'l-'ābidīn), who was executed with Abū's-Sarāyā.<sup>4</sup>

Also Zayd [37] b. 'Abdi'l-lāh (al-Maḥḍ).

Also 'Alī [38] b. 'Abdi'l-lāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdi'l-lāh (al-Maḥḍ?).

And 'Alī [39] b. 'Abdi'l-lāh b. Ja'far b. Abī Ṭālib.<sup>5</sup> The latter was killed in the Yaman, together with Ibrāhīm [40] b. Mūsā (b. Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq).<sup>6</sup>

In the year 200/815-6 a number of Alids rose in rebellion against al-Ma'mūn: Muḥammad [100] b. Ja'far (aṣ-Ṣādiq),<sup>7</sup> in Makka, where

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Tabari, III, 978, 981, 985, 1015.

<sup>2</sup> According to 'Umda, 311, some call him 'Abdu'l-lāh b. al-Ḥusayn, not Ḥasan. As a general rule there is much confusion in the genealogies of the two Zayds,—Zayd b. al-Ḥasan and Zayd b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn.

<sup>3</sup> 'Umda, 311. It is not certain whether the same man is referred to in Tabari, III, 2538.

<sup>4</sup> Apparently not mentioned by Tabari, just as the others.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Tabari, III, 2335. The pedigree is suspiciously short.

<sup>6</sup> Obviously the same person is referred to by Tabari, III, 987, 995, 1029.

<sup>7</sup> He was the son of Imam Ja'far, brother of Mūsā, often referred to in Ismā'ili works ('Uyūnu'l-akhbār, Zuhru'l-ma'ānī, Asrāru'n-nuṭaqā'). They condemn him for his "having drawn his sword in a sacred place, at a sacred season". In 'Umda, 218, it is stated that he was surnamed ad-Dibāj (gold embroidery) "because of his being very handsome" (this sounds rather strange,—he was negroid in appearance). He had another surname,—al-Ma'mūn. His insurrection is connected with the adventures of Abū's-Sarāyā and Muḥammad b. Tabātabā, referred to above. He was acting as a *dā'i* to Ibn Tabātabā and when the latter died, began to preach in his own favour. He was supported in Mekka, but later on was overpowered, and sent to al-Ma'mūn in Persia. As mentioned in *Asrāru'n-nuṭaqā'*, he

a considerable number of followers from Hijāz and Tihāma swore allegiance to him as caliph. These were people who had never so far done this for any descendant of 'Alī. He proclaimed himself the Qā'im. Considerable forces were sent against him, many of his supporters were killed, and he himself surrendered, relinquished his claims, was sent to Persia to al-Ma'mūn, and died there.

His son, 'Alī [42] b. Muḥammad b. Ja'far<sup>1</sup> rose in Baṣra, together with al-'Abbās [43] b. Muḥammad b. 'Isā b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abdī'l-lāh b. Ja'far b. Abī Tālib;<sup>2</sup> they were later on joined by Zayd [44] b. Mūsā b. Ja'far b. Muḥammad, who took the leading part amongst them.<sup>3</sup>

In the Yaman there rose Ibrāhīm [40] b. Mūsā b. Ja'far. All these were overpowered, sent to al-Ma'mūn, who pardoned them, and they remained in Persia.<sup>4</sup>

Here follows a detailed account of the proceedings with 'Alī b. Mūsā b. Ja'far [45], his summons to al-Ma'mūn, and his experiences, ending with his death, on 27 Šafar 203/3-9-818.<sup>5</sup>

In the third century A.H. Alid genealogies become so long that it seems advisable to introduce a few abbreviations for the names of the earliest ancestors, continually repeated here. It may be noted that different surnames which in later Ithna-'ashari works came into common use, such as aṣ-Šādiq, or al-Bāqir, etc., are very rarely mentioned by Qādī Nu'mān, who persists in tracing all genealogies in full, up to Abū Tālib. Therefore it is emphasised that abbreviations are here introduced only as a space saving device. We may use AT for Abū Tālib; AAT for 'Alī b. Abī Tālib; JAT for Ja'far b. Abī Tālib; 'AbdJAT = 'Abdu'l-lāh b. Ja'far b. Abī Tālib; Zaynu'l-'ābidīn = 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Tālib; ZHAAT = Zayd b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Tālib; al-Mahd = 'Abdu'l-lāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Tālib.

In the time of *al-Mu'taṣim* (218-227/833-842) there rose in Tāliqān (in the hills between Qazwīn and Māzandarān in Persia)—

was made to renounce publicly his claims in every town through which he was taken. He died in Jurjān, leaving a large posterity.

<sup>1</sup> Tabari, III, 990-994, 1020; 'Umda, 219: his surname was al-Khārīṣī; he was in Baṣra at the time of Abū's-Sarāyā, but apparently did not take direct part in the insurrection. When later on Zaydu'n-Nār b. Mūsā b. Ja'far came there, he joined him. Abū Naṣr al-Bukhārī says that he acted in accord with his father, Muḥammad ad-Dibāj, who was in Mekka. He had to make a proclamation in Ahwāz in 200/815-6, helped by al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Tālib, and Zayd b. Mūsā. But when his father was overpowered in Mekka, he rose in Baṣra, was also overpowered, and died in Baghdad.

<sup>2</sup> Not mentioned by Tabari, or in 'Umda.

<sup>3</sup> Tabari, III, 686, 999. 'Umda, 175, 196. He was surnamed Zaydu'n-Nār, i.e. "fiery", because he burnt Baṣra when he seized it, after making his appearance in Ahwāz.

<sup>4</sup> Tabari, III, 987, 995, 1029; 'Umda, 175, 178. He was surnamed al-Jazzār. He became a Zaydī Imam. As other sons of Mūsā, he was negroid in appearance.

<sup>5</sup> The story is well-known. I would only add a reference to Nawbakhtī, 73.

Muḥammad [46] b. al-Qāsim b. 'Alī b. 'Uthmān ('Umar?) b. Zaynī'l-'ābidīn (he had no son called 'Uthmān), surnamed aṣ-Ṣūfī.<sup>1</sup> He gained a large number of supporters for his claims, but later on was caught by 'Abdu'l-lāh b. Tāhir (a member of the Tāhirid dynasty in Khorasan, 213-230/828-844), and sent to al-Mu'taṣim in Baghdād in 219/834. He was imprisoned, but succeeded in escaping.<sup>2</sup>

About the same time there rose 'Abdu'l-lāh [47] b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Abdi'l-lāh b. Ismā'il b. 'AbdJAT. He was caught, imprisoned, escaped, was again caught, and died in prison.<sup>3</sup>

In the reign of *al-Mutawakkil* (232-247/847-861) there rose al-Ḥasan [48] b. Zayd b. Muḥammad b. Ismā'il b. al-Ḥasan b. ZHĀAT.<sup>4</sup>

In Ray there rose Aḥmad [49] b. 'Īsā b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. Zaynī'l-'ābidīn.<sup>5</sup>

Also Hārūn [50] b. al-Ḥusayn surnamed al-Karkī<sup>6</sup> b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ismā'il b. Muḥammad al-Arqaṭ b. 'Abdi'l-lāh b. Zaynī'l-'ābidīn.

In Hijāz there rose Ismā'il [51] b. Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā b. 'Abdi'l-lāh al-Maḥd.<sup>7</sup> He was only twenty years of age; after him there rose his elder brother Muḥammad [52] b. Yūsuf al-Aḥḍar, who was twenty years older than his brother. Another insurrection was led by 'Abdu'l-lāh [53] b. Mūsā.<sup>8</sup>

In the reign of *al-Musta'in* (248-251/862-866) there rose in Kūfa Yahyā [54] b. 'Umar b. Yahyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. Zayd b. Zaynī'l-'ābidīn.<sup>9</sup>

In Ray—Muḥammad [55] b. Ja'far b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. 'Umar (*sic*) b. Muḥammad al-Bāqir. (There must be a mistake,—al-Bāqir apparently had no son called 'Umar), cf. *'Umda*, 173; cf. also further on no. 89.<sup>10</sup>

With him there rose in Ray 'Abdu'l-lāh [56] b. Ismā'il b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'AbdJAT, and also Ṣāliḥ [57] and Ibrāhīm [58], sons of 'Uthmān b. al-Maḥd.<sup>11</sup>

In the reign of *al-Mu'tazz* (251-255/866-869) there rose:

<sup>1</sup> Tabari, III, 1165-6; *'Umda*, 272. He really had the surname aṣ-Ṣūfī.

<sup>2</sup> Later on, nevertheless, he was caught again, and executed in Baghdad, dying at the age of 53 years.

<sup>3</sup> Not mentioned either by Tabari, or in *'Umda*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *E.I.*, II, 277-8; *'Umda*, 49.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Tabari, III, 1532-3. *'Umda*, 280.

<sup>6</sup> Perhaps better to read al-Kawkabī, cf. *'Umda*, 226.

<sup>7</sup> Obviously the same as in Tabari, III, 1644, 1645, 1686, where the rising is placed in 251/866.

<sup>8</sup> Not mentioned by Tabari.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Tabari, III, 1515-1524, 1609, 1620, 1745, where the rising is mentioned under 250/865.

<sup>10</sup> This, and the following are not mentioned by Tabari.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *'Umda*, 226.



‘Īsā [59] b. Ismā‘il b. Ja‘far b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. al-Maḥd.<sup>1</sup> (The same as 71 ?)

Aḥmad [60] b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. al-Maḥd.<sup>2</sup>

In the reign of *al-Muḥtadī* (255–256/869–870) there rose:

Yaḥyā [61] b. ‘Abdīr-Raḥmān b. al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan b. ZHAAT.

Muḥammad [62] b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abdīr-Raḥmān b. al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan b. ZHAAT.

Muḥammad [63] b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd [b. al-Ḥasan b. Zayd] b. Zaynīl-‘ābidīn (in the MS there seem to be a mistake).

Aḥmad [64] b. Zayd b. al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Īsā b. Zayd b. Zaynīl-‘ābidīn.

Ja‘far [65] b. Ishāq b. Mūsā b. Ja‘far aṣ-Ṣādiq.

Mūsā [66] b. ‘Abdīl-lāh b. Mūsā b. al-Maḥd.

the son of the latter, Idrīs [67] b. Mūsā.

the nephew of the former, Muḥammad [68] b. Yaḥyā b. ‘Abdīl-lāh b. Mūsā.

Ibrāhīm [69] b. ‘Abdīl-lāh b. al-Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Maḥd.

Muḥammad [70] b. ‘Abdīl-lāh b. Ismā‘il b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abdīl-lāh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī b. ‘AbdJAT.

‘Īsā [71] b. Ismā‘il b. Ja‘far b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ‘AbdJAT. (The same as no. 59 ?).

In the reign of *al-Mu‘tamīd* (256–279/870–892) there rose:

Muḥammad [72] b. Aḥmad b. Mūsā b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī b. ‘Amr b. ‘Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. AAT.

Aḥmad [73] b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abdīl-lāh b. Ibrāhīm Tabāṭabā b. Ismā‘il b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. AAT, surnamed Na‘thal.

Hamza [74] b. al-Ḥasan (or al-Ḥusayn ? cf. 85) b. Muḥammad b. Ja‘far b. al-Qāsim b. Ishāq b. ‘AbdJAT.

Muḥammad [75] b. Ja‘far b. al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī (?) b. Muḥammad al-Bāqir (who had no son ‘Alī,—apparently a mistake in the MS; cf. nos. 55, 89).

‘Abdu’l-lāh [76] b. ‘Alī b. ‘Īsā b. Yaḥyā b. Zayd b. Zaynīl-‘ābidīn.

Muḥammad [77] b. Aḥmad b. ‘Īsā b. Zayd b. Zaynīl-‘ābidīn. The same as above, no. 30.

‘Alī [78] b. Ja‘far b. Hārūn b. Ishāq b. al-Ḥasan b. Zaynīl-‘ābidīn (?)

al-Ḥasan [79] b. Muḥammad b. Ja‘far b. ‘Abdīl-lāh b. Zaynīl-‘ābidīn (?).

al-Ḥasan [80] b. Ibrāhīm b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abdīr-Raḥmān b. al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan b. ZHAAT.

<sup>1</sup> Henceforward there are apparently no references in Tabari’s *Annals* to these Alid insurgents. The *‘Umda* also does not trace genealogies so far. There are apparently many mistakes in the genealogies which are not easy to correct.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently not mentioned in *‘Umda* (cf. p. 98).

Muḥammad [81] b. 'Abdi'l-lāh b. Zayd b. 'Abdi'l-lāh b. al-Ḥasan b. ZHAAT.

al-Ḥusayn [82] b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ḥamza b. 'Abdi'l-lāh b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Qāsim b. al-Ḥasan b. ZHAAT.

Muḥammad [83] b. Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā b. Ibrāhīm b. Mūsā b. aṣ-Ṣādiq.

'Alī [84] and 'Abdu'l-lāh [84a], sons of Mūsā b. 'Abdi'l-lāh b. Mūsā b. aṣ-Ṣādiq.<sup>1</sup>

Ḥamza [85] b. al-Ḥusayn (or al-Ḥasan, cf. no. 74) b. Muḥammad b. Ja'far b. al-Qāsim b. Ishāq b. 'AbdJAT. (Apparently, by mistake the same person as no. 74).

Muḥammad [86] b. 'Abdi'l-lāh b. Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdi'r-Raḥmān b. Ja'far b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'AbdJAT.

Idris [87] b. Mūsā b. al-Maḥdī. The pedigree is too short for the period,—apparently a portion is omitted by mistake in the MS.

'Abdu'l-lāh [88] b. al-Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Maḥdī.

Aḥmad [89] b. 'Abdi'l-lāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar b. 'Alī b. 'Umar b. Muḥammad al-Bāqir. (Cf. above, no. 55.)

In the reign of *al-Mu'taḍid* (279–289/892–902) there rose:

Muḥammad [90] b. 'Abdi'l-lāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Abdi'l-lāh b. Muḥammad b. al-Qāsim b. Ḥamza b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Abdi'l-lāh b. al-Abbās.

Muḥammad [91] b. Zayd b. Muḥammad b. Ismā'il b. al-Ḥasan b. ZHAAT, with his son Muḥammad [91a].

In the reign of *al-Muktafi* (289–295/902–908) the risings of two Alids are reported:

Muḥammad [92] b. 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Maḥdī, and

Muḥammad [93] b. Ḥamza b. 'Abdi'l-lāh b. al-Abbās b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Abdi'l-lāh b. al-Abbās.

Most probably there were also others, but Qāḍi Nu'mān could trace only these in the sources accessible to him, as may be inferred from his cautious statement already referred to above:

"These are the names of those descendants of Abū Ṭālib (Tālibiyyūn) who rose to claim the Imamāt for themselves before al-Maḥdī bi'l-lāh rose... Many of these were slain, and others thrown into prison, where they died; others again were overpowered, and saved their lives by flight, living in disguise, continually trembling for their lives. Such is the lot of those in the world who demand by false pretences what is not due to them, who try to snatch what God has decreed and destined for others (i.e. al-Maḥdī)."

In addition to the account of what may be formally styled as open Shi'ite insurrections against the Omayyads and Abbasids, which were all earlier or later suppressed, and ended disastrously for the participants, there were also many movements which did not

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Umda*, 198.



reach the stage of open revolt. Some of these took the form of sectarian associations, as already mentioned above, but their aims, after all, were the same as those of the groups which may be called "activist".

Among such movements still in a "latent" phase, awaiting their chance, the most important were those which centred round the descendants of Imam Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq, namely the Ismaili, which brought the Fatimids to the throne of the caliphs, and also the movement which later on became known as the sect of the "Twelve Imams". We have dealt with the Ismaili line elsewhere; here we may confine ourselves to matters concerned with the Ithna-'asharis.

Whatever may be the truth about the Ismaili concealed Imams, there is not the slightest doubt from the point of view of history that the sect carried on a powerful and widespread propaganda. Leaving aside the mythical figure of 'Abdu'l-lāh b. Maymūn al-Qaddāh, we have sound historical testimony about many eminent and really talented propagandists who worked on their behalf in different corners of the Islamic world,—Ibn Hawshab, Abū 'Abdi'l-lāh ash-Shī'i, Abū Ya'qūb as-Sijistānī, Abū Ḥātim ar-Rāzī, and many others.

We find quite a different picture when we look into the evolution of the Ithna-'ashari group. The Imams of this line appear always to have lived under the strict supervision of the Abbasids; their sect produced no great missionaries, and even serious theologians only began to appear long after the extinction of this line of the Imams. And yet, with all this, there is no doubt that they had many adherents in different provinces of the Abbasid empire, and presented a force so strong as to justify al-Ma'mūn's strange experiment with 'Alī b. Mūsā's enthronement. It is difficult to find out whether the propaganda work was carried on very skilfully, in a perfect conspiracy, or whether there was no organised propaganda work at all. The latter seems more probable, and it looks as if the Ithna-'ashari Imams after Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq were living as *rentiers*, on the religious capital inherited from their ancestors: 'Alī, the nearest associate of the Prophet, al-Husayn, the greatest martyr of Islam, and Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq, the founder of Shi'ism as a theological school of Islam. This religious capital seemed to be inexhaustible; it could not be even squandered by the immediate successors of Ja'far, and when they were gone, and their true nature had become transfigured by legend, the sect, after a serious set back, again began to flourish.

Ithna-'ashari sources, quite naturally, give very little reliable information concerning the real state of affairs amongst the successors of Mūsā b. Ja'far; general historians take little interest in them, and are obviously prejudiced against them. The most valuable therefore are Ismaili sources; as Shi'ites themselves, their authors better understood the affairs of the sect, and, at the same time, except for some feeling of rivalry, had no reason to be much prejudiced.

It is therefore worth while to examine what Qāḍī Nu'mān has to tell about the long agony of the decay of this saintly house, and its final extinction, which in itself was a very important event, the whole significance of which, especially for the rise of the Fatimid caliphate, is still quite insufficiently realised. As is known, a very good account of the different currents in the sect, exposing the extent of the chaos and confusion which reigned in the circles of its adherents, is given by Nawbakhtī (*Fīraq ash-Shī'a*, pp. 74-94). Qāḍī Nu'mān's testimony is also very interesting, as he undoubtedly derived it from very early Shi'ite sources.<sup>1</sup> It would also be useful to add here the information preserved in the work of another very early author, a contemporary of Nawbakhtī, who wrote within some fifty years after the events,—Abū Ḥatīm ar-Rāzī, his *Kitābu'z-zīna* (cf. *Guide*, no. 18). Some interesting allusions are also scattered in the esoteric work, *Asrāru'n-nuṭaqā'*, by Ja'far b. Mansūri'l-Yaman (composed about 380/990), cf. *Guide*, no. 43. Sayyid-nā Idrīs in his '*Uyūnu'l-akhbār*', mentioned above, derives his information from all these works, and gives nothing in addition.

We are not concerned here with the two elder sons of Imam Ja'far,—'Abdu'l-lāh [94] al-Aḫṭāḥ and [95] Ismā'il. The former was the elder, and died in 148/765 within about three months of his father's death, leaving no male posterity. The second son, Ismā'il, as is known, died before his father, leaving two sons, Muḥammad [96] and 'Alī [97]. The former at the moment of Imam Ja'far's death, was the eldest of the family, except for 'Abdu'l-lāh b. Ja'far. This is explicitly stated both by Abū Ḥatīm and Qāḍī Nu'mān. Sayyid-nā Idrīs, from some unknown source, states that he was 26 years old, while his brother 'Alī was 18.<sup>2</sup>

Other sons of Imam Ja'far, all by a Negro concubine, were [98] Mūsā, [99] Ishāq, [100] Muḥammad and [101] 'Alī.<sup>3</sup> Qāḍī Nu'mān briefly reviews the parties who supported Mūsā, and entertained various freakish beliefs about him or his descendants. Some of these believed that he would never die; others that he would die, but return, and fill the earth with justice. Others, called the Qit'iyya, recognised his death, and accepted his son 'Alī [45] b. Mūsā as his successor in the Imamāt. On the death of the latter some believed that he had not left any male posterity, but others recognised as his successor Muḥammad [102] b. 'Alī, his infant son, who naturally could not inherit any knowledge of his father.

<sup>1</sup> As may be seen further on, he chiefly derived his information from the *Kitābu'z-zīna* of Abū Ḥatīm ar-Rāzī. But his own account often differs in details, partly because he abbreviates his original, partly because, most probably, he derives additional information from other sources.

<sup>2</sup> This is very important, because in later esoteric Ismā'ili works there is a tendency to make Muḥammad b. Ismā'il a helpless infant whom Imam Ja'far entrusts to the mythical 'Abdu'l-lāh b. Maymūn al-Qaddāh.

<sup>3</sup> So also in '*Umda*, 173-4; the author rejects the reality of a certain Nāṣir, who was regarded as one of the sons of Imam Ja'far, quite erroneously; some families in Herat and Isfarā'in, apparently in the author's own time (end of the VIII/XIV—beg. IX/XVth c.), traced to him their pedigrees.

Another party, however, recognised him as an Imam, under the name of Muḥammad at-Taḳī; they also recognised his son [103] 'Alī an-Nāṣih (usually an-Naḳī), and grandson, [104] al-Ḥasan, surnamed al-Fāḍil (usually al-'Askarī). He (al-Ḥasan) died without leaving any male issue. After him the community split: some recognised as the Imam his brother, [105] Ja'far b. 'Alī, cancelling his own recognition: al-Ḥasan was found not to be in possession of the knowledge of the Imam, and his childless death has proved the falsity of his claims. There was a dispute about the division of the inheritance, and some insisted that the heir was a child [106] expected to be born by a concubine, who was pregnant; this created talk and attracted the attention of everybody to the question of the succession. A section recognised Ja'far [105] b. 'Alī as the Imam, as mentioned above, and after him his son [107] 'Alī and daughter [108] Fāṭima. Others recognised only his son 'Alī. Later on, when both these died, some followers introduced extremist beliefs about them, regarding them as deities; others regarded them as Prophets, who knew the hidden things. Such superstitious beliefs spread and multiplied.

Those who remained faithful to al-Ḥasan [104] regarded him as immortal, eternally living; he could not have died without having left a successor, because the earth cannot remain without an Imam. They believed that there would be two periods of *ghayba*, or concealment of the Imam: he was expected to manifest himself, and to be recognised; then he was to disappear again.

A section believed that al-Ḥasan [104] had died, but would be resurrected, as the Qā'im, "One who ariseth". They said that the meaning of the word *qā'im* is one who arises from the dead. Some believed that he really died, leaving no issue, but would return to life. Some regarded Ja'far [105] as the successor of his brother al-Ḥasan [104]. Some declared the Imam to be his, and Ja'far's brother [109] Muḥammad, who died before the death of his father. The appointment of al-Ḥasan was recognised as an error, because he left no issue, and Ja'far did not deserve to be an Imam on account of his depravity (*fisq*);<sup>1</sup> al-Ḥasan was not much better. As they thus could not be the Imams, it is obvious that Muḥammad [109] was the Imam, appointed by his father. He is the expected Qā'im and Mahdi.

Another party believed that al-Ḥasan [104] had a son [106], born two years before his death, but concealed on account of the menace of Ja'far and others. Others again believed that he, al-Ḥasan, had a son, born to him eight months after his death, and that this was the same child whom others regarded as born two years before the death of his father; and that a child, if it existed,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Nawbakhtī, 83-4. The author of the 'Umda, 176-7, attributes learning and piety (*'im wa zuhd*) to al-Ḥasan, while styling Ja'far—al-Kadhhab ("liar"). He had no less than 120 children, who had the surname ar-Riḍawīyyūn, i.e. the descendants of ar-Riḍā.

would not have been concealed.<sup>1</sup> Others again did not believe that al-Ḥasan had any children. They asserted that they had carefully searched, and found none, and that the story of a son was a fraud. Others again believed that Ḥasan died and left no successor, and that there is no Imam as there was none before the Prophet. But many believed that anyhow there must be an Imam, whether a descendant of al-Ḥasan or not, concealed at present, but returning as the Qā'im.

We may now sum up the information offered by Abū Ḥātim ar-Rāzī in his *Kitābu'z-zīna* (completed in the beginning of the IV/Xth c.). He refers to al-Wāqifa and al-Mamṭūra, who believed in the immortality of Mūsā [98] b. Ja'far, and in his being the Qā'im; they rejected the Imamāt of his son 'Alī [45] ar-Riḍā. Contrary to the usual prophecies about the Qā'im having the same name as the Prophet, they believed that the Qā'im must have the name of the *ṣāhibu't-Tawrāt*, i.e. Moses; he must be the *Seventh* in succession (as Mūsā was, if we include both 'Alī and al-Ḥasan),—he "who is the Sabbath of the sabbaths, the Sun of the Ages, the Day of Manifestation, he who never plays or amuses himself, the Seventh amongst you", etc., as Imam Ja'far said about him (*Sabtu's-subūt wa Shamsu'd-duḥūr wa Yaumu'sh-shuhūr*, etc.). When he died some expected his return.

The Qaṭi'a party believed in the death of Mūsā [98] and the Imamāt of his son 'Alī [45], with his successors, up to 'Alī [103] b. Muḥammad al-'Askarī. They were doubtful about Muḥammad [102] b. 'Alī, i.e. the father of the preceding, on account of his having succeeded his father in infancy. Others accepted him as the Imam, but split after his death. Some recognised as the Imam Mūsā [110] b. Muḥammad, others 'Alī [103] b. Muḥammad. After his death some recognised as the Imam Muḥammad [109] b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad, who predeceased his own father. Others recognised Ja'far [105] b. 'Alī al-'Askarī, while some preferred his father, 'Alī. Those who recognised Ja'far (b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Mūsā) as the Imam received the name of aṭ-Ṭājiyya, or aṭ-Ṭājibīyya,—not mentioned by Nawbakhti), after their leader 'Alī, son of so-and-so, aṭ-Ṭājibī (or aṭ-Ṭājī), a learned theologian who espoused the cause of Ja'far, canvassing for him among people, and was helped by Fāris b. Ḥātim b. Māhūya (not mentioned by Tabari), and his sister. These people rejected the Imamāt of al-Ḥasan [104], saying that they had examined him, and found him ignorant. They had such a low opinion of him that they called his followers Ḥimāriyya, i.e. followers of an ass. Others again rejected al-Ḥasan [104] because he died leaving no male posterity, thus demonstrating the futility of his claims. When he died, his brother Ja'far [105] claimed his property, while another party demanded attachment of

<sup>1</sup> The subject is well-known; cf. also the article "Mahdī" in the *E.I.*, III, 111–115 (rather unsatisfactory). In the *Umda* (176) the official Ithnā-ʿasharī theory is summed up as follows: al-Ḥasan had a son, Muḥammad, the expected Qā'im; his mother was a concubine, called Narjis (Narcissus).

it under the plea of the pregnancy of one of his concubines, until her delivery. This litigation caused complete scandal in the eyes of the authorities and the public (*inshaqq amru-hum 'inda's-sultān wa'r-ra'yat wa khawāṣṣi'n-nās wa 'awāmmi-him*). The party of Ja'far [105], anyhow, succeeded in attracting a considerable following from among the supporters of al-Hasan [104], especially under the leadership of al-Hasan b. 'Alī b. Faddāl (not mentioned either by Nawbakhti or Tabari) a learned theologian, jurist and traditionist. These people recognised as Ja'far's successors his son 'Alī [107] b. Ja'far and his daughter Fāṭima [108], spreading different extremist beliefs, similar to those of Abū'l-Khaṭṭāb (as mentioned above by Qāḍi Nu'mān).

The supporters of the Imamāt of al-Hasan [104] against his brother Ja'far [105] b. Muḥammad split after his death into eleven parties, or sects. One believed in the immortality of al-Hasan, and his being the expected *Qā'im*; he had to pass through two *ghayba* periods, and this was the first. He was expected to reappear shortly, and then to disappear for a longer time.

Others believed that he died, but would return to life (etc., as mentioned by Qāḍi Nu'mān, see p. 18).

Others believed that he died and transferred the Imamāt to his brother Ja'far [105]. Others added that al-Hasan's death without leaving posterity proved the futility of his claims.

Others rejected both al-Hasan and Ja'far, and regarded the third brother, Muḥammad [109] (b. 'Alī an-Naqī b. Muḥammad at-Taḳī b. 'Alī ar-Ridā) as the real Imam, although he had died before his father. They rejected the rights of al-Hasan [104] because of his having left no posterity, and of Ja'far [105] because of his having been a bad character (*fī-hi min al-fisq az-zāhir*). His brother al-Hasan was really no better in his behaviour, but was not so ostentatious.

Others believed that al-Hasan [104] had a son, Muḥammad [106] by name, born to him two years before his death, etc. Qāḍi Nu'mān almost literally copies the end of Abū Ḥātim's account (cf. above, p. 19).

This was the atmosphere in the family of the descendants of Imam Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq, the line of his son Mūsā, who lived in the full light of publicity at the court of the Abbasids. It is therefore easy to understand that many of their devout supporters might easily lose all respect for them, and come over to support the elder line, of Ismā'īl b. Ja'far, who lived in the impenetrable mystery of concealment, and about whom the public could know only what their *dā'īs* were authorised to tell them.

## INDEX

*Note.* For the facilitation of references to this paper the names of the Alids referred to here have been numbered consecutively (in heavy type), and an index is here appended. Figures in heavy type refer to this numeration, and in ordinary type—to the pages of this paper.

*Abbreviations:* A = Aḥmad; AAT = 'Alī b. Abi Ṭālib; 'Abdl. = 'Abdu'l-lāh; 'AbdJAT = 'Abdu'l-lāh b. Ja'far b. Abi Ṭālib; AR = 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān; AT = Abū Ṭālib; Bāqir = Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abi Ṭālib; D = Dā'ūd; Has. = Ḥasan; Hus. = Ḥusayn; Ibr. = Ibrāhīm; Ism. = Ismā'il; J = Ja'far; JAT = Ja'far b. Abi Ṭālib; JS = Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq; M = Muḥammad; al-Mahd = 'Abdu'l-lāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abi Ṭālib; Z = Zayd; Zaynu'l-'ābidīn = 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abi Ṭālib; ZHAAT = Zayd b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abi Ṭālib.

In the index dash (–) is used instead the word *ibn*.

The figures in this index, both in heavy and light types, refer only to the portions of the paper corresponding with the text of the *Sharḥu'l-akḥbār* and *Kitābu'z-zīna*, summed up in this article, and *not* to comments or footnotes.

## I. Lines of the Alids referred to in this paper.

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## 1. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī:

- (a) 'Abdu'l-lāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī (= al-Mahd): 17, 12, 18, 19, 20, 26, 37, 27, 29, 87, 21, 22, 57, 58, 88, 60, 53, 51, 66, 67, 68, 69, 59, 92.
- (b) Zayd b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī: 23, 61, 62, 80, 82, 81, 48, 91, 91a.
- (c) 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī: 72.
- (d) al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī: 32, 73.
- (e) al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī: 24.
- (f) Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī: 25.

## 2. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī:

- (a) 'Alī Zaynu'l-'ābidīn b. al-Ḥusayn: through Zayd b. 'Alī: 10, 11, 76, 34, 28, 30, 31, 64, 77, 35, 63, 54; through others: 78, 79, 50, 36, 46, 49.
- (b) Muḥammad al-Bāqir (all suspicious): through 'Alī (?)—75; through 'Umar (?): 55, 89.
- (c) Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn (aṣ-Ṣādiq): (elder lines) 94; 95, 96, 97. (through Mūsā b. Ja'far): 98, 45, 84, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110; 40, 83, 44, 65, 84a, 102. (through others): 101, 99, 100, 42.

## 3. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

Descendants of Ja'far aṭ-Ṭayyār b. Abi Ṭālib:

- (through 'Abdu'l-lāh b. Ja'far): 6, 15, 13, 16, 14, 33, 43, 56, 70, 86, 39, 71, 47, 85, 74.

Descendants of 'Abdu'l-lāh b. 'Abbās: 7, 8, 9, 90, 93.

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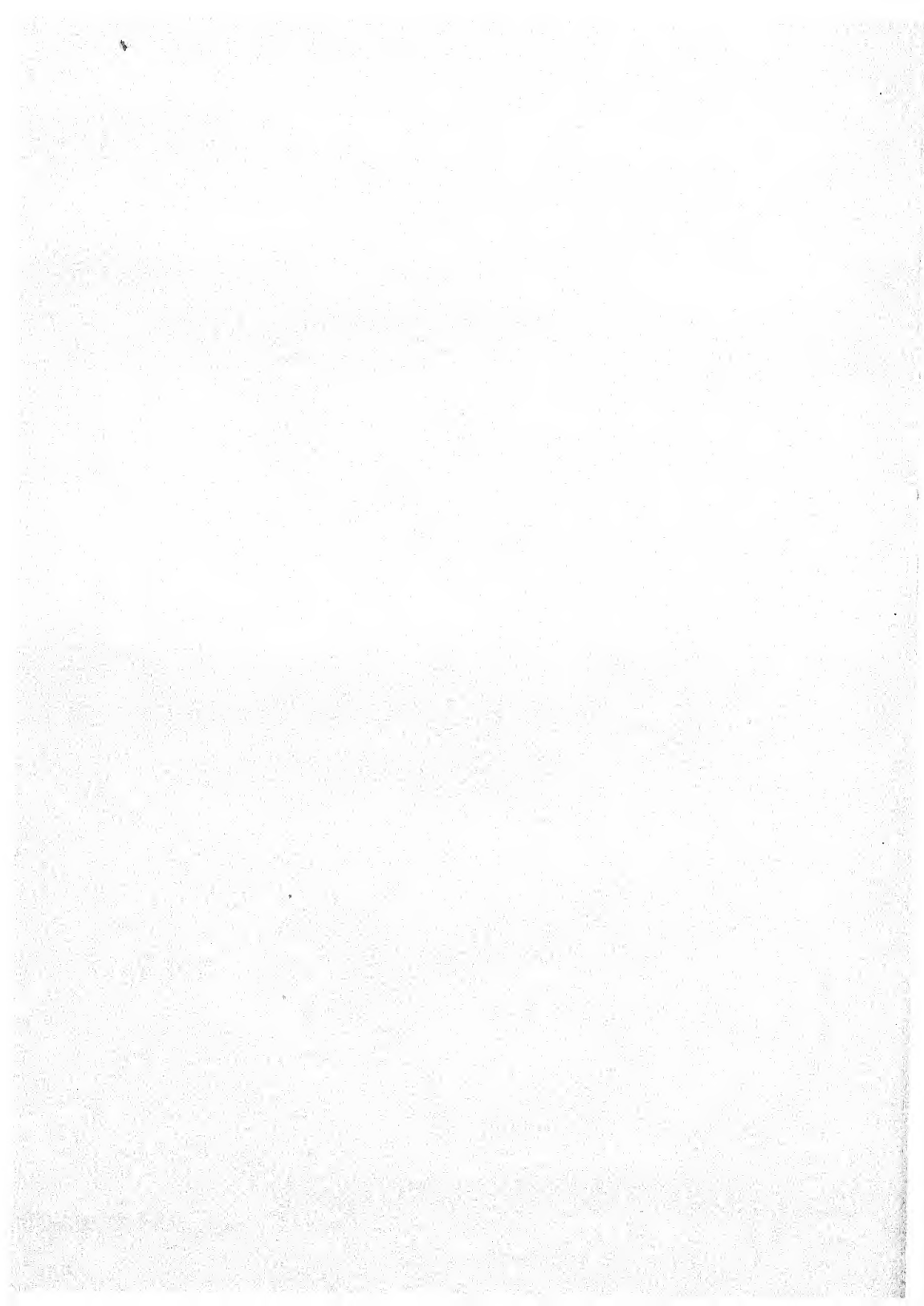
- 'Abdl-JS (= al-Aftah) 94, 17  
 'Abdl-Mu'āwīya-'AbdJAT 6, 6, 7, 8  
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| Ahwāz 10           | Khurāsān 7 (and     | ash-Sharāt (in Syria) 7 |
| Anbār 9            | passim)             | Shīrāz 8                |
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## SOME RECENT RUSSIAN PUBLICATIONS ON ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH IN CENTRAL ASIA

By W. IVANOW

From time to time laconic reports are published in newspapers concerning different sensational discoveries by Russian archaeologists in Turkestan. These would be very interesting indeed to all students of Central-Asian problems, in India and elsewhere. But it is not an easy matter to get the necessary details: apart from such complete reports being much delayed in publication, and the almost insurmountable obstacle of the difficult Russian language, it is usually almost impossible to obtain any books from Russia, either directly, or through international book-sellers. Formerly, some fifteen years ago, there was an institution, called, as far as I remember, "Bureau for the cultural exchange with foreign countries". It used to send many of their latest publications to different foreign libraries at one time; but later on this source dried up. Now very few books reach India, and the few that do arrive, are usually distributed in somewhat erratic way, showing that those in charge have lost touch with the outer world. Thus, as an example, the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, one of the oldest *Orientalist* institutions in India, for years and years receives nothing but issues of the mathematical or biological series of the Russian Academy of Sciences,—the subjects with which it has nothing to do,—and not a single publication on Oriental matters. Some other institutions, purely religious by nature, incidentally get publications on archaeology in which they are not interested. And so on. It is therefore interesting to take a glance at a few recent publications which have just been received in Bombay, namely:—

Vols. II and III of the "Transactions of the Oriental Section of the 'Hermitage' Museum",<sup>1</sup> both published in Leningrad (formerly St. Petersburg), 1940;

a monograph by (Mrs.) C. Trever, "The Monuments of Greco-Bactrian Art",—as vol. I of the series "Monuments of Culture and Art in the Collections of the 'Hermitage' Museum" (publ. Moscow-Leningrad, 1940);

<sup>1</sup> I deliberately avoid the literal translation of the original expression "State Hermitage" (instead of the former name "Imperial Hermitage"). The word "Hermitage" is foreign to the Russian language, and is applied only to this particular museum, while in English *hermit*, *hermitage* are living words. A combination of words such as the "State Hermitage" would sound somewhat odd.

and, in addition, a work of a different type,—“Papers read at the Third International Congress on Persian Art and Archaeology” held at Leningrad in September 1935 (publ. Moscow-Leningrad, 1939).

It may be useful to students in India to give here a short conspectus of the articles dealing with the matters of Central-Asian archaeology; these are in many respects vitally connected with the archaeology of N.W. India, and its cultural evolution. The vols. II, and especially III of the ‘Hermitage’ Transactions contain also articles on other topics such as Egyptology, Assyriology, Turkology, Sinology, etc. These are omitted in this note.

As generally very little is known in this country about Russian Orientalist institutions, a few words would not be out of place regarding the “Hermitage” Museum. As is known, the foundation of systematic Oriental studies, and of museum work was laid in Russia by Peter the Great (1682–1725), the founder of the Russian Academy of Sciences. The first museum, called by a German term “Kunstkamera”,—i.e. “Art-treasury”, was a universal collection of rarities, antiquities, works of art, inventions, etc. The “Hermitage” was founded much later, by Catherine II (1763–1796). Originally it was a private collection at the Imperial court, in which paintings, sculptures, tapestry, jewellery, etc., were gathered in a special set of rooms at the Winter Palace; it had even its own theatre at which plays were staged. In the course of time it was continually enlarged, and before the revolution it was a large museum, open to the public, one of the most famous of its kind in the world. Objects of Oriental art formed a secondary, but quite substantial section. In 1920, after the revolution, this section was developed, and amalgamated with other collections of the same kind in St. Petersburg, and generally in Russia, new material was brought from many expeditions, etc. The most important funds were apparently derived from the Museum of Ethnology and Anthropology of the Russian Academy of Sciences; this inherited many items from the original “Kunstkamera”, and during the century of its existence had accumulated much valuable material. Another government institution from which collections of Oriental art were transferred to the “Hermitage” was the “Russian Museum of the Emperor Alexander III”; some important private collections were either purchased or confiscated, such as of Count Sheremetieff, Baron Stiglitz, of Kastalsky, Doodin, and others. According to the paper of Prof. A. Yakobovskiy in the III vol. of the “Transactions” (pp. 5–26), summing up the 20 years’ history of the institution, it has now 70 exhibition halls, and its collections with regard to the study of Central Asia are the largest in the world, containing many important *unica*.

Taking up the vol. II of the “Transactions”, it may be noted that it is dedicated to the memory of the late Prof. W. Barthold (d. 1930), member of the Russian Academy, whose monumental work, “Turkestan at the Time of the Mongol Invasion” was more

than ten years ago translated into English, and published in the Gibb Memorial Series. It lays a solid foundation for all further researches into the history of the Muhammadan period in Central Asia.

Very interesting information is contained in several articles by the same Prof. A. Yakoobovsky (the editor of the publication), giving details of the different archaeological expeditions, undertaken during the last decade by the museum, either alone, or in collaboration with the Samarqand Museum, or the Department of Arts and Antiquities of the Uzbekistan local government. It appears (pp. 8-9) that there were many such expeditions: *Ṣughnāq* (1927), *Urganch* (in *Khvārizm*, 1928-29), *Marw* (1929), the Soghdian castle *Mūgh* (where a Soghdian library was unearthed, 1933), *Zarafshān valley* (1934), *Termez* (1933, 1936), *Ṭaraz* (1937-9), *Warakhsha* (1937-8), *Tali Barzū* (near Samarqand, 1936-9), and *Paykand* (1939). Preliminary reports of some of these expeditions are included in this volume; we can only regret that the author has not added information about the expeditions undertaken by other institutions in Russia.<sup>1</sup>

The *Zarafshān valley* expedition of 1934 (see the preliminary report by Prof. A. Yakoobovsky, pp. 113-164), was undertaken for the purpose of the survey of historical sites along the ancient wall, built to protect the Bukhara oasis from the raids of the nomads some time before the VIII c. A.D., and abandoned in the X c. It defended the cultivated lands, and at different intervals had *rabāṭs*, inhabited spots, near different gates at which trade was carried on with the nomads of the desert, as was also the case with the Chinese wall. The wall is known under the name of *Kampīr-duwāl*, i.e. "the wall of the old woman" (*duwāl* is the Central-Asian pronunciation of the Persian *dīwār*). It was to some extent surveyed in 1915 by the late L. Zimin.

The expedition started from the mounds of *Qizil-tepe*, then went to *Shahri Wayrān*, the ancient *Ṭawāwis* of the Arab geographers (its original name was *Arkud*); then, along the *Zarafshān* river, to a place called *Hazāra*, the hill of *Abū Muslim*, *Karmīna*, *Qal'a'i Dabūs* (i.e. the ancient *Dabūsiyya*, often referred to in the history of the Arab conquest), and ultimately *Arbinjān*. The largest of these were the *Shahri Wayrān* (*Ṭawāwis*) and *Dabūsiyya*, which obviously existed before the construction of the wall. Test excavations helped to establish the fact that these towns were thickly inhabited during the pre-Samanid and Samanid periods. By the end of the tenth c. the majority of these places fell into decay. As indicated by the archaeological remnants found in the different strata, life continued in these places much after the standards of

<sup>1</sup> Some time ago newspapers brought information that there were excavations in *Nesa*, an ancient site near *Askhabad*, on the Russo-Persian frontier. It is remarkable therefore that in these volumes, published in 1940, there is no mention of this; it is difficult to think, however, that this was a "canard".

Sasanian times: pottery, etc., show great affinities with similar objects found in the corresponding strata of the more ancient spots in the locality, such as Samargand. The largest town, Dabūsiyya, reveals an interesting circumstance: potsherds found in the ruins prove the fact that habitation continued up to the Mongol invasion. The latter apparently swept it clean,—there are no traces of life until the XVIth c., when the place became again inhabited. And several decades ago it again was completely abandoned, and is now used only as a grazing place. Many valuable data were collected, plans prepared, photographs taken, and so forth.

Another similar frontier trading spot was Paykand, a dependency of Bukhara. It was regarded as more ancient than Bukhara itself, and was a flourishing commercial centre, with which the Arab general 'Ubaydu'l-lāh b. Ziyād had much difficulty in 674 A.D., before subduing it. It was one of the most important points in Soghd. By the XI c. it was abandoned, however, and never again played any part. The site was to some extent excavated in 1913-1914 by the late L. Zimin. The expedition of 1939, according to the report by the same author, Prof. A. Yakoobovsky (pp. 51-70), paid a short visit to the spot, and its labours were repaid by many interesting finds, including more than 200 coins of the Kushan, Sasanian, Soghdian, Samanid periods, and later. Interesting data were collected about the conditions of life in this part of ancient Soghd.

The second half of the same paper deals with the excavations of quite a different point in Soghd,—Tali Barzū, within four miles of Samargand, to which also another special paper, by G. Grigorieff, is here devoted (pp. 87-104). The Tali Barzū, together with the original site of Samargand itself, are apparently the oldest inhabited places in Soghd, as excavations prove. These were started in 1936, and continued in subsequent years. The expedition of 1939 was intended to verify the results on the spot.

The mound rises some 54 feet above the surrounding landscape, although it is obvious that an enormous amount of earth has been taken from it in the course of centuries by local peasants, who, as all over the East, usually carry away the clay of the ruins to fertilize their gardens and vineyards. Careful and systematic study revealed a very interesting sequence of the strata:

TB I = pre-Achemenian period, the first half of the first millennium B.C.

TB II = Achemenian period, the V and IV c. B.C.

TB III = Hellenistic period, the III and II c. B.C.

TB IV = Kushan period, I c. B.C.—II c. A.D.<sup>1</sup>

TB V = late Sasanian period, the V—VII c. A.D.

TB VI = Muslim period, end VII and beg. of the VIII c.

<sup>1</sup> Strangely, there are no remnants of the III and IV centuries A.D. It is difficult to believe that between two flourishing periods the town could have been abandoned for two centuries. Most probably this is a "crack" in stratification.

The earliest traces of habitation are formed by a square enclosure, built on the basic rocks. It yielded some interesting archaic figurines, shards, etc. The second, Achaemenian layer, contains more traces of habitation; the third, Hellenistic period apparently witnessed considerable revival; its yield includes a fair number of statuettes of clearly Greek type. The next, Kushan layer, adds traces of Buddhistic influences, and several inscriptions in Soghdian. The Sasanian, fifth layer, introduces quite new forms,—typical Sasanian art technique, and figurines with Turkish features and maces. In the sixth layer appear green-bluish glazed pottery and Soghdian coins, cast, and with a square hole in the middle, after the Chinese fashion. It is interesting to note that apparently the place was not inhabited in the third and fourth c. A.D., and was re-occupied in the fifth.

In his detailed note, G. Grigorieff, who has been in charge of the excavations since 1936, describes some of the more important finds. It is interesting that the details of the dress of the figurines of the pre-Achaemenian period found here, bear an indubitable affinity with Saka or Scythian antiquities found elsewhere: in the Tashkent area, in the steppes of the Northern coast of the Black Sea, and the features seen on the sculptures of Persepolis (what about Bisutun?). All these appear here in the most archaic forms,—even the figurines of horses, generally very frequent in the sites of ancient Soghd, seem to portray an “archaic” species of the horse, probably still not very remote from the wild, with short, thick, standing mane (although the silver dishes of the subsequent Hellenistic and Sasanian periods obviously portray the Arab thoroughbred).

In the earlier portions of the Achaemenian layer, among other interesting finds, a valuable relic was discovered,—what appears to be the earliest known image of the sacred man-bull, *gopat*. A special learned paper, by C. Trever, is devoted to it in this volume; we shall examine it later on.

The thickest strata on Tali Barzū are those of the Kushan and the Sasanian periods; these yielded an interesting collection of antiquities. Just as those from the corresponding strata of Afrāsiyāb, i.e. ancient Samarqand, both the figurines and the other objects reflect the enormous ethnic complexity, the far-reaching international connections, cultural influences, etc., peculiar to these periods.

Not far from Tali Barzū, within less than three miles, there lies another group of mounds, known as Kāfir-Qal‘a. It was also examined by test excavations, and was found to be much the same as Tali Barzū in its character; only its stratification is far less clear, being much upset by the peculiarities of the local soil and topography.

A special article, by the same Prof. A. Yakoobovsky, is devoted here to a review of the history of excavations and other forms of archaeological work in Samarqand (pp. 285–337). We may briefly



sum up here the facts which it contains. As is known, Samarqand presents two quite different problems. One is the monuments standing on the surface; almost all of these belong to the Timurid period; they present the most valuable specimens of Central-Asian Architecture, and are continually threatened by seismic activities to which the Samarqand area is particularly subject. They require not only urgent measures for a careful study before this or that of them collapses, but also continually demand considerable sums for their upkeep, and technical means of preservation.

The other problem is the excavation of ancient Samarqand, or Afrāsiyāb, as it is here called. It lies buried under thick layers of debris, and the area occupied by it is enormous. It has been only partially uncovered so far. The site attracted the attention of the Russian military authorities soon after the occupation of Turkestan, and in 1874 a certain Major Borvenkov was commissioned to undertake excavations, and find out the character of the ruins. Although not an archaeologist, he was able to ascertain that an ancient city occupied the place, and to collect a rich set of antiquities. Nine years later another attempt was made, this time entrusted to Lieut.-Col. Krestovsky. He, also although not an archaeologist, nevertheless, did his work, in 1883, with remarkable care and caution, and it has given most valuable results. This attracted the attention of the higher authorities in St. Petersburg, and two learned Orientalists, L. Kostenko and Prof. N. Veselovsky, were sent there in 1884. Their efforts were crowned with remarkable results. Ever since there has always been some one working in Samarqand; the permanent resident was the late V. Viatkin, who gradually grew up into a real authority on the place, and who has built a most valuable collection which is now in the Samarqand museum.

Greater attention by far has always been paid to the surface monuments of the Timurid time. Gūri Amīr, i.e. the mausoleum of Tamerlane, the chief mosque, Bibi Khānim, the madrasas, Āq-Sarāy, Rūhābād, etc., and especially the sepulchral group of Shāh-Zinda, were carefully measured and photographed, excellent albums were published, and so forth.

The thorough scientific repair of these buildings, which would ensure to them a long lease of life, surely required tremendous sums. These, certainly, were not easy to find, and the work was continuously postponed. It is interesting that there were some official opinions advocating the dismantling of the more threatened and valuable buildings, after their careful survey, and the placing of all valuable parts of these in a museum for preservation. This is a slight improvement on the well-known suggestion of a certain collector in Agra for pulling down, and selling the Tāj Mahall as building material. But this also was not done, and the buildings still stand, though more ravaged by time.

One of the last interesting finds in the excavations in Afrāsiyāb before the last war was the discovery, in 1913, of Buddhist frescoes

near the Nawbahār gate. An ancient, apparently Buddhist building was unearthed, containing some frescoes. A very interesting one, when taken out to light and fresh air, perished before the eyes of its finders before an artist, B. Romberg, had time to complete copying it. Similar things also happened on some other occasions, before it was found that a solution of casein and yolk can fix the colours, if applied in time.

The war, and the subsequent revolution, have seriously upset the archaeological work in Samargand. But the attention of the authorities was urgently drawn to the matter by nature itself: several earthquakes have dangerously upset one of the minars of the famous Ulugh-bek madrasa, whose axis was displaced at the top by more than five feet. One of the minars of the Timur mausoleum collapsed completely. There was apparently much talk, grand plans, etc., but, anyhow, ultimately the minar was in 1932 finally brought back to its correct position, and made safe. From what is mentioned in the paper of A. Yakobovskiy one may see that the post-revolutionary activities were chiefly concerned again with the architectural monuments, their topography, with the tiles which cover them, etc. The most interesting development, new as compared with the earlier work, is the far greater attention paid to the technical processes with the help of which the buildings were erected, tiles produced, etc. To all this archaeologists usually pay decidedly less attention than the matters really deserve.

It is a great pity that the volume does not give any particulars about other recent expeditions. Most probably these either were not yet ready, or have already been published elsewhere. There is a feature in these archaeological reports which seems to me deserving of cultivation, and may be very much recommended to archaeologists everywhere. The view that archaeology is not an independent discipline about potsherds and bricks, but is simply a branch of historical research, chiefly dealing with the testimony of "non-written" sources of information, is correct. But there is yet another form of this study which is invariably completely neglected: research in still living tradition. For instance pottery: red unglazed pottery with black or white designs, if found in Central Asia or Persia, point out the great antiquity of the site on which they lie, sometimes even the chalcolithic period. But exactly this type of pottery is still in daily use all over India. Or the "Bactrian" dome, built in burnt or sundried bricks without scaffolding, by gradual closing of angular vaults. In Central Asia it is now found only in old structures. But in Persia it is still in daily use, forms the type of the roofing used in the great majority of villages, and has many interesting details of its technique in different parts of the country. It is remarkable that while universal in Khorasan and the adjoining portions of Afghanistan, it appears, after the longitude of Damghān, to be replaced by the ("Parthian"?) cylindric vault, single or crosswise, until the latter still further Westwards gives



way to the roofing on wooden beams.<sup>1</sup> That such tradition is old may be seen from the fact that the change in architecture is invariably accompanied by a change in the dress, and even physical features of the inhabitants. Most surprisingly, somewhat similar domed villages reappear as far away as Ma'arratu'n-Nu'mān and other districts around Ḥalab (Aleppo, in Syria). And so on. Much in the same strain can be said about the traditional technique of tiles which are not only still manufactured for local use in different corners of Persia, but also in some parts of India, chiefly in Multan. Here the old capital of Upper Sindh, Uchchh, as also Multan itself, still have many tiled buildings which much resemble the mediaeval buildings of the sepulchral group of Shāh-Zinda in Samarqand. The obvious deterioration of the art is entirely due to the fact that prices of materials have gone up, while competition of machine-made articles is strong.

The same thing is repeated in many other forms of traditional crafts. And it is a really important and urgent problem to collect all available information of the traditional methods before they are completely forgotten. The East all over its great expanse is now in the melting pot: things that went on for centuries often disappear overnight. Once gone in a locality, they are usually irrevocable. Therefore the most urgent task of scientific research is to make use of the opportunity presented by the fact of their still being alive in different corners, and to collect reliable records immediately.

The works of the Russian archaeologists, summed up here, most fortunately show signs of an awakening to this great need. But really it seems urgent to go a little further, as required by the situation, and put the whole weight, and use all the energy of qualified workers, to accomplish this task before it is too late; ruins can wait for years under their debris, but life does not wait. Just as in the case of the rapidly disappearing and deteriorating dialects, still spoken here and there in the country, every year, even month, matters much.

I would take this opportunity to draw the attention of students to an important written source of information. Though few in number, there are, nevertheless, some mediaeval works in Persian and Arabic, dealing with technological matters, obviously on many occasions preserving the craft tradition of much earlier periods.

<sup>1</sup> These cylindric vaults are particularly large and prominent in Semnan and its dependencies. Would not it be possible to trace this tradition to Roman influences from Parthian times? Their most interesting tendency is to be semicircular, not paraboloid, as is the case with the "Bactrian" domes. It may be added that till quite recently the technique of the sundried brick architecture in Khorasan was remarkably high. Some of such buildings in Birjand, though not old, would really merit study from this point of view, especially the Husayniyya, with its high super structure: two tambours resting on semi-cupolas, one above the other, and covered with a dome. Quite a different technique is found on the Persian Gulf: it is worth studying the styles in the sometime flourishing and prosperous, but now depopulated and rapidly decaying town of Qishm, on the island of the same name.

Manuscript copies of such works are found in many libraries. These works are unusable for a non-specialist, because technical terms and the names of different stuffs used in manufacture are rarely found in ordinary dictionaries. They can only be perused and translated with the help of the parallel study of the oral tradition. And this is well worth doing: they would reveal much of the lost technique of mediaeval craftsmen, which not only would permit better appreciation of the relics, but also better understanding of the conditions of the society in which they were produced.

There is another important matter which seems to me worth noting here. W. Barthold ("Turkestan", p. 182 sq.), and in some of his other works, describes the social structure of Mawara'annahr before the Arab invasion, and at later periods, as a *feudal* system. He uses such expressions as "landed aristocracy", "class of knights", appreciably stresses their difference from the "merchant class", and so on. He also offers a fairly consistent scheme of the evolution of the mediaeval town, the rise and the decline of the *quhandiz*, the gradual growth of the *shahristān*, which acquires more and more power with the weakening of the aristocracy, and ultimate shifting of life to *rabad*, i.e. new trading settlement. All this is put in connection with the evolution of the local social stratification and economic equilibrium. The scheme is accepted as the basis in the theories of the archaeologists whose works are here reviewed, and in their interpretation of their discoveries.

My own thirty years' experience of the Muslim East, and extensive travels, make me feel serious doubts as to this scheme being so unshakeably proved. Such terms as feudalism, landed aristocracy, knights, merchant class, castles, etc., all derived from the practice of mediaeval Europe, seem to be utterly misleading in application to such countries as Central Asia, or Persia. There are many things of great importance which the student can learn only by personal contact with the village, and which are never discussed in historical works. And the late W. Barthold, although a really outstanding historian, was nevertheless, an "armchair" scholar, who derived his knowledge of the East from books only.

As the social structure of organised society is always determined by its economic basis, it is necessary to note that there is a profound difference between the countries where cultivation depends on rainfall, and those in which fields are irrigated by man. In Europe, India, etc., the basis is *land*, i.e. the extent of the arable surface. But in what may be termed as the "countries of sundried brick and irrigated fields", like Central Asia or Persia, *land* is nothing, has little or no value, and everything is *water*. The latter appears in three forms: rivers (as in the Zarafshān valley, with which we are here directly concerned); perennial streams in the hills; and man-made devices either to utilise the water of the river, i.e. canal, or to extract underground water, i.e. *karīz*.

In connection with these there is even now still a notable difference in the type of the population depending on these different

sources of irrigation. Harnessing big rivers, such as Zarafshān, Amū-Daryā, Euphrates, Tigris, Nile, Sindh, Hilmand, etc., is beyond private enterprise, and can only be made by a state effort, which constructs the skeleton net of "mains". Such *ariqs*, as they are called in Central Asia, last for centuries. Many of those which still exist are more than a thousand years old. The land, as far as it can be reached by water from these mains, gradually acquires all the features of the land in rain watered countries. Therefore feudal relations, similar to those observed in Europe or India, could only develop long after the construction and development of the canal net. Before this is done big rivers are practically useless, because they lie too low, and at the same time too far from the lands safe from inundation and useful for cultivation.<sup>1</sup>

Perennial streams in the hills usually are too small, and can feed only a few villages. As may be seen in Persia, where much more archaic conditions are still preserved in many places, the great majority of such hill "waters" are owned by the villagers themselves. The hill population as a rule substantially differs from the population of the plains (or lower slopes), not only in economics and customs, but often in language, and ethnic type. Remember the enclave of Yaghnob, the isolated linguistic groups of the Upper Wakhsh, Bartang, etc., or, in Persia, petty surviving dialect groups of the Shīrāz-Kāzīrūn mountain group. And it is easy to find an explanation: such natural sources of water were seized first by the invaders,—either tribes, or individual lords. These gradually become subject to assimilation with the neighbouring populace, but their considerable degree of isolation or independence helps to preserve their individuality for a longer time.

Quite a different picture is found on the lower slopes of the valleys where the great majority of villages are situated. These as a rule depend on man-made irrigational devices, and have quite a different economic, social, and sometimes ethnic nature. *Karīz* is a costly construction, and requires a capital to build, which peasants do not possess either individually, or collectively. Therefore the typical picture of the genesis of such villages is this: a private person, either an "aristocrat", or "merchant" (in reality both these rarely differ in their functions and interests) invests his capital, constructing a new *karīz*. When water is found, in sufficient quantities (and this happens by no means always), the owner invites a village of peasants to work it. The "village" is a unit, a gang of labourers, and at the same time a family. A regular contract is made, stipulating the share of the owner of the water, and other conditions. The latter also helps his employees to build a "*qal'a*", i.e. protected settlement, just in the same way as the

<sup>1</sup> A typical example of this is the Istakhr plain on which Persepolis stands. The local river, Kūr (Rūdi Bandi Amīr), is now entirely unharnessed. The same is the case with the Qarasū river near Kermānshāh, and many other Persian rivers.

factory owner supplies his employees with living quarters; he gives them advances for seeds, tools, etc.<sup>1</sup>

Thus, in fact, we have in the agricultural life of a country like Persia two varieties of peasants: small owners predominant in the hills, and agricultural contract workers forming great majority on the plains. There is no serfdom. As an exception rich landlords could cultivate certain areas with the help of slave labour, but these obviously were rarely numerous. Therefore we may see that there is no *feudalism* in the sense of the word as it applies to the conditions in Europe; and the transition from the patriarchal economics to relations between employer and employee is direct. It is quite possible that before the development of the canal system in Central Asia conditions approximated to those in Persia.

All this considerably affects the mechanism of the rise, growth, and development of town life. There were, most probably, real "castles of landed aristocrats" (of course, there could not be other aristocrats than "landed"), in the European sense. But it must be remembered that most probably *all* settlements on the plains were protected by fortified walls. As we can see in Persia, *qal'a* equally means "castle" or "fortress", a fortified point of military importance, as also, in the majority of cases, fortified village, an ordinary and most peaceful settlement, protected by walls. As a rule with rare exceptions, the hill villages, or those situated close to the rocky hills, do not possess walls: in case of danger the inhabitants simply climb the rocks. This was an ordinary practice in all localities subjected to troubles during the seasonal migrations of the nomads, Turkoman raids, and other dangers of this kind.

The scheme of the evolution of the town may be given in this way: the original *qal'a* (the incipient *quhandiz*), on economic grounds, is usually built "tightly", just to house the population as it is, without any allowance for expansion. If all goes right, the population increases, and the place rapidly becomes over-populated; houses are built over the older ones, as a second storey, and congestion becomes almost unbearable. If times are safe, the population overflows, and builds new houses outside the enclosure. Once this is done, and no special danger is apprehended, very often the original enclosure becomes rapidly emptied, although is kept up, and even specially re-fortified, serving as an emergency refuge

<sup>1</sup> Such migrations of peasants are surprisingly wide, and often quite powerful, though rarely noticed, as only in the case of peasants of foreign origin,—Georgians or Armenians settled in some villages of Khorasan or Isfahan provinces, etc. One finds peasants from Yazd or Isfahan settled in the Kermānshāh plain villages; the vicinity of Meshhed is a veritable ethnological museum: many immigrants settled during the last fifty years or so, after the Russian conquest of Central Asia had put a stop to the murderous raids of the Turcomans. The same also applies to nomads: the transfer of Kurds from the vicinity of Bāyazīd to Bujnurd, Qūchān and Darra-Gaz in Khorasan belongs to the same order, just as the recent infiltration of the Berberis from Qal'a'i Naw in Northern Afghanistan to the valley of Meshhed in Persia. Many other examples may be cited.

for the villagers. This strongly reminds one of the finds in the Tali Barzū, referred to above: a small early square enclosure, which was apparently soon abandoned, but was rebuilt later on. The same is the case in Paykand: its *quhandiz*, according to Arab geographers, was a small enclosure, with one entrance, standing empty in their time.

If the village grows on account of the good supply of water, or, chiefly, on account of its favourable situation, new protective walls with fortifications may be built around it, while the old enclosure begins to play the part of a sort of citadel, or inner refuge; it may be re-fortified. Such refuges can be seen in every Persian city, town, or large village; as a rule they always stand empty: those who would like to settle there can only expect to have the same minimal space for their habitation which has compelled them to shift, because the ownership is transferred to heirs.

Thus we have the second stage,—the incipient *shahristān*. All this, as we have seen, goes on without the slightest influence from any change in social stratification: all villagers are considered to be relatives of each other, all are equal within the limits of their age-group, and usually their economic standing is approximately exactly the same. The merchant usually comes *from outside*, only when both the village has attained sufficient capacity as a market, and is favourably situated as a distributing centre.<sup>1</sup> The first shop is usually opened in the village itself. Much later, in the case of considerable growth of the settlement, come craftsmen, also first from outside,—blacksmiths, potters, tanners, dyers, etc. These people, by the nature of their trade, build their workshops on the outskirts, or outside the "city wall". If the village is on a main road, caravanserais may spring up near the gate. This is the incipient *rabad*, or the commercial and industrial suburb.<sup>2</sup>

It may be noted that in the "countries of sundried bricks" space costs nothing, and building very little. For this reason it is easier and cheaper to build a new house on a new spot rather than to repair the old one after it has reached a certain degree of disrepair. Increase of population is also to be considered. In the usual dislike of settling separately, and the manner of building the houses one next to the other (for the purposes of safety), it is quite natural that the new expansion primarily directs itself to the incipient

<sup>1</sup> Although there is no doubt of the great talents, industry, and artistic taste of such peoples as the Persians in their crafts, it is really striking to see to what extent the ordinary peasant in remote villages is industrially helpless: he produces literally nothing, and all his domestic implements, tools, even dress he buys in the town. The only exception is the weaving of homespun, and also carpets in the case of the nomads.

<sup>2</sup> A great variety of the most different phases of this process can be plainly seen almost in every village, living or dead, all over the country. When local inhabitants are asked why this or that seemingly prosperous village, now lying in ruins, was abandoned, the reply invariably implies the drying up of the source of water supply; and this may be really true in a great many cases.



*rabad*. As old houses are usually abandoned, this may take a considerable extent even in normal conditions. Thus reports may be found that "life has gradually passed to the *rabad*". And this again does not in the least always reflect any considerable evolution in the society, changes in its stratification, and so on; it is entirely due to natural causes and peculiarities of the local technique of architecture, economics, and custom. Even in large cities, after centuries of evolution, when the ancient *rabad*, in the form of the bazars, is the centre, the *shahristān* lies in ruins, and so on, purely agricultural population may still form a proportion of its inhabitants.

Thus in all deductions and generalisations of the data discovered with the help of archaeological research such possibilities must be always borne in mind; and it is always necessary to make certain whether the nucleus of the settlement was a military post, the "castle" of an "aristocrat", or whether it was simply a town grown out of a village.

Returning to the papers dealing with individual subjects in this volume, and relating to Central-Asian matters, we may refer to the article "Gopatshah—Shepherd King", by Mrs. C. Trever (Vol. II, pp. 71-86). It is a comment on the find of the archaic drawing of the "man-bull", scratched on a piece of pottery, found in the upper pre-Achemenian or lower Achemenian layer in Tali Barzū. Only the upper part of the image is preserved, sufficient, however, to see that the creature was wingless, and had no tiara, which usually adorns such images; they are well known to every student from the Assyrian, Babylonian, Achemenian, Persian, and other sculptures. It seems quite obvious that the deity developed from the totem of a pastoral pre-Aryan people, probably inhabiting Central Asia at a distant period. We have no indication as to whether ancient Iranian peoples adopted the deity itself, or simply used the Assyro-Babylonian iconographic forms for their own idea which was close to it by its nature. In her erudite article, Mrs. C. Trever stresses the fact that the fragment, found in the Tali Barzū excavations, could not be the result of the influences of the Achemenian iconography, because it is of an earlier origin. She tries to prove that it was connected with the land of Gava, which apparently was the ancient name for Soghd, the original site of the sacred Airyena Vaenjo of the Avesta, the older portions of which were composed there. The Gopat, bull-man, and the king of bulls, was a deity connected with water and irrigation, just as the mythical bull Hadayash. It is possible that the name of the Zoroastrian Adam,—Gayomart,—was an evolution of the earlier Gavomard, i.e. primaeval bull-man. In later times Mithra and the bull consecrated to him are possibly later phases of the same idea, in which both parts of this mythical conception have split into their original elements. The honorific title borne by the Sasanian heirs of the throne, "kushānshāh", was apparently a substitute for the earlier title *gopatshāh*.

In another paper, "An Interpretation of the Images on the Biyā-Naymān Ossuaria" (pp. 25-49), A. Borisov shows that ossuaria, or *astūdāns*, i.e. ceramic coffins for bones, used in Zoroastrianism, were of different origin. Some of those found in different excavations belonged to Christians, and others to Jews, and this is also testified by written sources. Comparing a considerable number of fragments, he analyses the meaning of different figures, the images of which are often found on the *astūdāns*, and comes to the conclusion that some of them are personifications of the four elements, and others of Zrwān, identified with Chronos.

Other papers in the same, second, volume are:—

- A. Bernstam: "Türgeš Coins" (pp. 105-112).
- M. Diakonov: "A Bronze Weight with the Name of Ismā'il Sāmāni" (pp. 165-176).
- A. Bernstam: "The Bathhouse in Ancient Taraz, and its Date" (pp. 177-184).
- N. Poppe: "The Karasakpay Inscription of Timur" (pp. 185-188).
- A. Belenitsky: "Regarding the History of the Participation of Craftsmen in Town Festivals in C.A. in the XIV-XV cc." (pp. 189-202).
- A. Boldirev: "Memoirs of Zaynu'd-dīn Wāṣifī" (pp. 203-274).
- G. Ptitsin: "Poetical Works of Sayyidā" (pp. 275-284).

The third volume of the "Transactions" contains: a note by B. Piotrovsky (pp. 71-90): "The Scythians and Transcaucasia", which refers to the conditions of the VIII c. B.C., when the Scythians made their appearance in Asia Minor. Their relation with the Scythians in Transcaucasia, Northern Caucasus, and the steppes further North is traced.

The same Mrs. C. Trever, in a note "A Sasanian Banner-top", describes a silver dragon head which was used as the top of the banner carried by the Sasanian troops. Such heads, empty inside, had a long silk bag affixed on the back end. When on the move, air, entering the opening in front, inflated the light bag, and produced a hissing noise, which frightened the horses of the enemy.

A. Bank, in a note "A Plaque with the Image of Alexander the Great flying skywards" (pp. 181-194) gives an interesting study of the myth, familiar to every student of the *Shāh-nāma*, about Kay-Kā'ūs' flying to the sky with the help of eagles. The motive is an ancient one, is usually associated with Alexander the Great, and its expression in painting is common in different Eastern and Western countries.

Another myth connected with the *Shāh-nāma* is discussed in relation to "A Terra-cotta Figurine of Zahak" (pp. 195-208) by Mrs. N. Diakonova. Collating the Vedic, Avestan, and Sasanian sources, she comes to the conclusion that originally Zahak (Azhi Dahaka), Arabised into Dahhāk, was a parallel of the vishapas of Transcaucasia, who were the deities of fertility and water, developments of the ancient totems of fish or snake. Originally connected with Yima, he was portrayed as a three-headed deity; later on, when turned by myth into a diabolical Arab prince, he



received two snakes growing from his shoulders as substitutes for the additional heads.

A. Borisov, in a note "On the Meaning of the Term *nā'ūs*" (pp. 301-311), in connection with the study of the ossuaria (*astūdāns*), explains that *nā'ūs*, "tomb", was the term of a Christian origin, which became acclimatised in Arabic. Therefore the Arabs wrongly applied it to Zoroastrian *astūdāns*. The Zoroastrians themselves apparently never used it.

S. Zouber discusses the "Musical Instruments in the Khara-Khoto Iconography" (pp. 325-337), describing different types of musical instruments of Chinese or Central-Asian origin.

Other papers in the volume:

- I. Diakonov: "On the Origin of Writing in Mesopotamia" (pp. 27-48).
- H. Flittner: "Chase and Fight with Animals in the Art of Western Asia" (pp. 41-70).
- I. Lurie: "Funeral of the Paupers in Ancient Egypt" (pp. 93-100).
- M. Sher: "The Myth about the Struggle of Gorus and Set in the Copt Religious Relics" (pp. 101-116).
- M. Matieu: "Ancient Egyptian Motives on the Textiles of Egypt under the Byzantines" (pp. 117-148).
- X. Liapoonova: "Dionysos on the textiles of the Byzantine Egypt" (pp. 149-160).
- N. Mitina: "Two Engraved Stones in the Hermitage" (pp. 161-166).
- X. Rakitina: "Some Silver Ornaments from the Kuban Burial Mounds of XIV-XVth c." (pp. 209-216).
- N. Tokarsky: "A Capital from Anberd" (pp. 217-223).
- T. Izmailova: "Capitals from Sevan" (pp. 225-241).
- E. Ptchelina: "Armenian Monuments in Azarbaïdjan SSR" (pp. 243-256).
- G. Balashova: "A Bronze Mirror with a Hunting Motive" (pp. 257-262).
- E. Querfeldt: "Realistic Pictures on the Textiles and Carpets of the Safavid Time" (pp. 263-273).
- M. Diakonov: "A MS of Nizami's *Khamsa* dated 1431" (pp. 275-286).
- G. Ptitsin: "A Herati Bayaz of the XVIth c." (pp. 287-290).
- A. Boldirev: "The Tadhkira of Nithāri" (pp. 291-300).
- V. Garbouzova: "Evliya Chelebi on Istanbul Jewellers of the XVIIth c." (pp. 312-324).
- E. Westfalen: "A Chrystal Chinese Vase" (pp. 339-346).
- M. Krechetova: "Chinese Crockery with Armenian Monograms" (pp. 347-358).

We may pass now to the monograph by the same Mrs. C. Trever on Greco-Bactrian Art, mentioned above. It is an album of 50 plates of photographs, with an introduction on the different aspects of the cultural relations of the Bactrian empire of the Greeks with neighbouring countries, its art, etc. (pp. 1-44), and detailed explanations of the photographs (pp. 45-178). The collection is quite interesting, and contains many fine specimens of this art, which mostly consisted of slavish imitation of Greek prototypes, only now and then timidly adjusted to the requirements of the local religious and other needs. All these are quite familiar to students in India from the specimens of the Gandhara school, of which Indian museums contain many.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I may be permitted to mention an amusing discovery of mine: in some private collections boasting objects of Greco-Bactrian art, shown to

But the most interesting item undoubtedly is the latest find, the "Ayrtaf frieze". In 1932 soldiers patrolling the right (Russian) bank of the Amū-Daryā (which serves there as the Russo-Afghan frontier), noticed in the water a piece of carved stone, at the place called Ayrtaf, about 12 miles up stream from Termez (which is the ancient Demetrias, one of the several towns of this name founded by Demetrius, who ruled in 189-167 B.C.). Excavations were undertaken on the bank of the river, and a temple, apparently not later than the end of the second c. B.C., was unearthed, in which other parts of the same frieze were found. The piece extracted from the water was the best preserved. It is just over two feet wide, and presents three female figures, up to the waist, between leaves of acanthus, so typical of Greek art. The figures obviously represent temple musicians, one playing a drum, the other a lute, and the third a harp. The harpist is the best preserved, and shows interesting peculiarities in dress and ornaments.

A glance at the photo clearly shows that although there is not the slightest doubt about this frieze being closely connected with Greco-Bactrian art tradition, and although there are the leaves of acanthus, etc., yet there is something quite unusual in the female figures of the frieze. It seems to me that the matter may be put as follows: the talented artist, in full command of the technique acquired from work on traditional lines, was bold enough to desert the established canons, and to portray in these figures not the traditional Apollos, Nikas, etc., but the types of the local women, Tokhar, or other Scythian, as the case may be, in their national attire, realistically. It may be, of course, an isolated specimen of its kind. But, in the scarcity of information, it is also possible that there was a school of this kind. And many important questions arise, of great interest to the student of Indian civilisation. As the locality in which the Ayrtaf frieze was found, and N.W. India were at that time under the authority of one and the same princely house, was this school influenced by the Gandhara school, or was the latter itself subject to the influence of the Central-Asian school? The question has much importance for the further course of the development of Indian art: had such apparently naturalistic and independent school any connection with the later frescoes of Ajanta, which manifest similar features? All this can only be solved when more material is collected. It is very unfortunate that other portions of the same frieze are so badly damaged.

We may take up now the last item in the set,—the *de luxe* volume of the "Papers read at the Third International Congress on

me, I found on two occasions halves of folding cast bronze Russian icons. Such icons, about two inches by three, on a hinge in the middle, called *skladen'*, were used by pious people while travelling. They were quite common and cheap all over Russia even some thirty years ago. The letters in which the names of the saints are written over the figures, in old Russian alphabet, are those derived from Greek, and this circumstance has misled the "connoisseurs" who paid quite considerable prices for such "antiquities". I wonder whether government collections in India also contain such items.

Persian Art and Archaeology", held in Leningrad in September 1935 (and published in 1939). It is necessary to remark that such congresses were very valuable about a hundred years ago, when studies had not become yet so much specialised, and when the participants had more interests in common. At present, with advanced specialisation, it is quite unthinkable to read on such an occasion a substantial and highly technical paper, embodying much new material: for all except a few members of the learned assembly it would be unbearably boring. Therefore every one is forced to offer a trifle, a non-committal and unimportant note, in order merely to comply with custom, for the sake of courtesy. The value of all such "reports read at" different congresses is next to nothing: in the best cases they are repetitions of more substantial articles printed elsewhere. For this reason it seems really absurd to waste public money on such sentimental commemoration of the occasions, by printing what really does not merit it in the least, especially in such an extravagant, "bourgeois" form. Surely, the money spent could be used more profitably. The only new and interesting matter are two additional photographs from the same Ayrtaam frieze, discussed above. All the rest is stuff to which not only specialists, but even the general public are well accustomed: all these dishes, tiles, miniatures, carpets, buildings, bronzes, which are now being published everywhere, and especially in such periodicals as "Asia", with the difference only that in "Asia" the papers usually are more interesting, and the photographs are better. Here we find the same inevitable Bihzād, the unavoidable Persepolis as it is at present,—rejuvenated, freshly "permed", powdered and lipsticked, and mercilessly advertised, *ad nauseam*. The hope may be expressed that this rather antiquated tradition may be discontinued in the future.

Bombay, 19 April 1941.

*Note:* Figures 1 and 2 on the adjoining plates are taken from C. V. Trever's "Monuments of Greco-Bactrian Art", Leningrad-Moscow, 1940, plates 48 and 49. Figure 3 is taken from the "Papers read at the Third International Congress of Persian Art and Archaeology", Leningrad-Moscow, 1939, plate LV.

The Journal Committee of the B.B.R.A.S. regret that owing to war conditions it was impracticable to obtain beforehand the consent of the authors of the publications mentioned above to the reprinting of the photographs published here.



1. The Ayrтам Frieze.



2. The Ayrтам Frieze : the harpist (the last on the right of the frieze).





3. The Ayrtaam Frieze: the harpist, seen in profile.



VIŚVANĀTHA MAHĀDEVA RĀNAḌE, A CITTAPĀVAN  
COURT-POET OF RAJA RAMSING I OF JAIPUR AND  
HIS WORKS—BETWEEN A.D. 1650 AND 1700

By P. K. GODE, M.A.

In the Gotrāvali of the Chitpāvan Brahmins of the Maharashtra we find the surname *Rānaḍe*. The *gotra* of the Rānaḍe family is *Bhāradvāja*. There are at present numerous *Rānaḍe* families in the Maharashtra. Some of the members of these families are highly educated and well-placed in life. During the last 100 years the Rānaḍes have produced some men<sup>1</sup> of literary pursuits but it is not known if any such men were produced by this family before A.D. 1800. It is, therefore, worthwhile investigating and putting on record whatever information we can discover from authentic records<sup>2</sup> about the literary men belonging to the Rānaḍe family preferably before A.D. 1800.

As I have no early genealogies of the *Rānaḍes* with me, I shall satisfy myself by recording here a usage of the surname '*Rānaḍe*' which I found in a document of A.D. 1660 while studying some documents of my own family<sup>3</sup> between A.D. 1633 and 1685. This document is a sale-deed of property by one *Rogbhaṭ* bin *Gopālabbhaṭ Rānaḍiyā* in favour of *Jān Thākur* bin *Rām Thākur*. Evidently *Rogbhaṭ Rānaḍiyā* was living in A.D. 1660 when he sold a property to *Jān Thākur* of *Jamsade* near *Devagad*. *Gopālabbhaṭ*, the father of *Rogbhaṭ*, was a contemporary of *Rām Thākur* about A.D. 1633, which is the date of the earliest sale-deed of property purchased by *Rām Thākur*. It is clear from this contemporary document that one Rānaḍe family was resident near *Devagad* in the *Ratnagiri* District of the *Bombay Presidency*. Like many other *Chitpāvan*

<sup>1</sup> The late Justice *Madhava Govind Ranade* stands at the top of such men. His versatile intellect, patriotism, and sterling character as also other qualities of head and heart have already won for him an immortal fame in the history of Maharashtra. Among living members of the Rānaḍe families mention may be made of Prof. R. D. Ranade, now head of the Philosophy Department of the Allahabad University, the author of some standard works on philosophy such as '*Constructive Survey of the Upanishadic Philosophy*', '*Mysticism in Mahārāshṭra*', etc. In the field of Marathi literature I may mention here my friend Prof. S. B. Ranade, now Professor in the Ismail College, Andheri, who has already made a mark in the field of Marathi Poetry by the publication of his numerous poems during the last 30 years or so.

<sup>2</sup> No family history of the Rānaḍes has so far been published. It is time that some one attempts such history.

<sup>3</sup> Vide p. 219 of *Sardesai Commemoration Volume*, Bombay, 1938, where I have recorded the dates of sale-deeds of properties purchased by my ancestors, viz. the *Thākurs* of *Jamsade* (near *Devagad* in the *Ratnagiri* District of the *Bombay Presidency*).



Brahmins the Rānades must have migrated<sup>1</sup> from Konkon to Poona and other places above the Ghāts during the Peshwa period of Maratha history, when the rule of the Chitpāvans, i.e. the Peshwas attracted many Brahmins to their capital Poona, which then provided prospects to many ambitious youths. As I have not studied all the records of the Maratha history pertaining to this period I am unable to say whether any member of the Rānade family made his home in Poona and took to any political or literary pursuits.

<sup>1</sup> Compare the following account of a Chittapāvan going to Bengal (between A.D. 1660 and 1690) from Konkon for attaining *siddhi* under the guidance of a tāntric teacher of *Rādhā*:—

In the *Fragments of Poems pertaining to the Maratha King Sambhaji* (A.D. 1680–1689) published by me in the *Annals* (B.O.R.I.), Vol. XIX, Part I (1938), pp. 49–60, we find the description of a सिद्ध of राढा in Bengal (pp. 57–58—verses 1 to 32). A Chittapāvana Brahmin called शिवयोगी from Konkon went to this सिद्ध and became his pupil:—

“ शिवयोगी नाम कश्चिद्वाङ्मणश्चित्तपावनः ।

निशम्य तस्य सिद्धस्य चरितं परमाद्भुतम् ॥ ३३ ॥

हित्वा कोंकणकं देशं तं देशं समुपाश्रितः ।

गुरुत्वेनाशु तं सिद्धं वरयामास तं सुव्रतः ॥ ३४ ॥ ”

This चित्तपावन Brahmin served the सिद्ध of राढा devotedly and in course of time attained सिद्धि :—

“ प्रगल्भोदारसेवाभिराराध्य गुरुमादरात् ।

अलभच्छिवयोगी सः सिद्धिकामपि सुव्रतः ॥ ५ ॥ ”

He then returned to शृंगारपुर near Sangameshvar in the Ratnagiri District of the Bombay Presidency and founded there a मठी or hermitage:—

“ पश्यन्क्षेत्राणि नानारसभरभरितः पर्यटन्तीर्थपङ्क्तीः ।

प्रेम्णा शृंगारपुर्या व्यरचदथ मठीं कोंकणे क्रूरदेशे

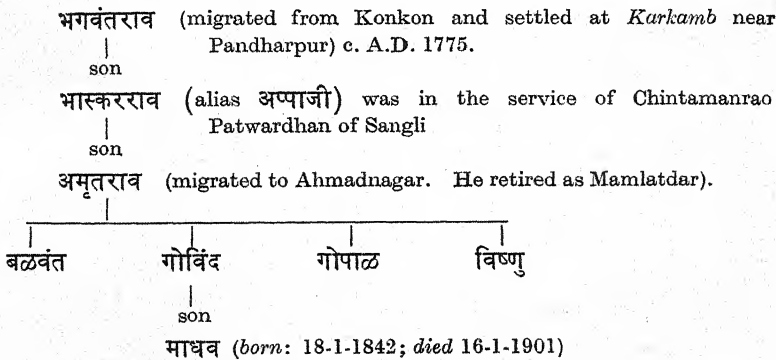
वस्तुं योगी प्रसिद्धस्तदनुतगुणं सन्निवासं चकार ॥ ”

If the above story of a चित्तपावन migrating to a remote place in Bengal from Konkon is correct, we have in it a parallel to the case of another चित्तपावन, viz. विश्वनाथ रानडे, going to Benares and becoming a pupil of Kamalākara and Dhundirāja. As the चित्तपावन शिवयोगी is shown as contemporary of King Sambhaji (A.D. 1680–1689), he appears to have been a contemporary of विश्वनाथ रानडे who composed his शृंगारवापिका, say, between A.D. 1667 and 1675.

The study of family history will be greatly facilitated if a dictionary of surnames current in Maharashtra is compiled. Such a dictionary should record the usage of every surname in a definitely dated document so that we can have before us under each surname dated usages of that surname from the earliest to the latest with indication of the source for each usage recorded. In the case of the surname *Rāṇaḍe* we have no means of determining the geography<sup>1</sup> of the residence of the Rāṇaḍes and their migration from their earliest home to other parts of the Maharashtra or outside. The study of surnames is further rendered difficult by the early Maratha practice of using only the name of the person and his father without the use of the surname, unlike the present practice of using the names of the person and his father together with his surname in each case.

In spite of the tendency to omit surnames we often find the mention of the surname or *Upaṇāma* in some late Sanskrit works of the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. In accordance with this tendency, which finally became universal in the nineteenth century, we find the surname *Rāṇaḍe* mentioned by a writer of the seventeenth century in his two rare works, each of which is represented by a single MS. only. I shall now record whatever information can be gathered from these two MSS. about the personal history of this member of the Rāṇaḍe family belonging

<sup>1</sup> Vide आठवणी by the late Mrs. Ramabai Ranade, Poona, 1935, pages 1 to 10. Here an account is given of the ancestors of the late Justice Mādhava Govind Ranade. The native place of this line of the Rāṇaḍe family is *Pācerisaḍā* near Guhāgar in the Chiplun Taluka of the Ratnagiri District. The genealogy of this family, as recorded here, is as follows:—



Amritrao, the grandfather of Justice M. G. Ranade, had much interest in Sanskrit learning. He prepared copies of several MSS. for his own study. In 1925 the B.O.R. Institute acquired a small collection of MSS. from Dr. N. M. Ranade, the son of Justice Ranade. This collection belonged to his father. It is possible to infer that some of these MSS. may have been collected by Amritrao Ranade.

to the Shivaji period of the Maratha history and then link it up with other contemporary history as far as possible.

Aufrecht makes the following entries about an author विश्वनाथ भट्ट and his works:—

CC., I, 584—‘*Śṛṅgāravāpikā nāṭikā*’ composed by विश्वनाथ भट्ट

CC., I, 661—‘शृङ्गारवापिका, nāṭaka by Viśvanātha, IO. 274.’

CC., II, 138—‘विश्वनाथ भट्ट, son of Mahādeva, son of Viṣṇu, son of Haribhaṭṭa:

*Śṛṅgāravāpikā nāṭikā*. He wrote this play by desire of King Rāmasinha, son of Jayasinha.’<sup>1</sup>

CC., III, 123—‘Viśvanātha, with the surname Rāṇaḍa, of the Chittapāvan family: *Sambhuvilāsa Kāvya*.’

CC., III, 132—‘शम्भुविलास, kāvya by Viśvanātha, IO. 1148, No. 3850.’

According to Krishnamachariar<sup>2</sup> ‘Dhunḍirāja’s pupil wrote the *nāṭikā Śṛṅgāravāpikā* on the loves of Candrakeli, King of Avanti, and Kāntimati, daughter of Campāvatī’.

<sup>1</sup> Vide p. 783 of *Madhyayugīna Caritrakośa* by S. Chitrav, Poona, 1937—“विश्वनाथ भट्ट (about A.D. 1650), author of the drama शृङ्गारवाटिका. He was son of Mahādeva and pupil of Dhunḍirāja. He was a Chittapāvana Brahmin, possibly with the surname “Rāṇaḍa”. He wrote the drama by order of Rāmasinha’.

It appears from the above remarks that the work शम्भुविलास, composed by विश्वनाथभट्ट रानडे, is not known to the *M. Caritrakośa*.

<sup>2</sup> *Classical Sanskrit Literature*, 1937, p. 661—Viśvanātha Bhaṭṭa Rāṇaḍa mentions one धुण्डिराज as his *guru*. Krishnamachariar refers to the descendants of a धुण्डिराज. These are as follows:—

धुण्डिराज (probably same as व्यासयज्वन्—A.D. 1713)

son

बालकृष्ण

son

शङ्कर(दीक्षित) wrote the play प्रद्युम्नविजय for Sabhasundara Raja of Pannah, grandson of Chitrāsāl of Bundelkhand.

The India Office MS. of the *Sambhuvilāsa* is described by Dr. Eggeling as follows on p. 1446 of *IO. MSS. Cata.*, VII (1904), No. 3850 (1148c):—

‘Foll. 19; size 9 in. by 4 in.; good Devanāgarī handwriting of 1719 A.D.; eight lines in a page.

*Sambhuvilāsa*, a devotional poem in honour of Śiva, in three cantos by Viśvanātha, surnamed *Rāṇaḍa* (?), of the Chittapāvana family.’

Viśvanātha refers to himself in two verses in the introductory portion of the *Sambhuvilāsa* as follows:—

“श्रीषट्केन समन्वितं प्रथमतो नत्वा गुरुं बुद्धिदं  
विघ्नध्वंसपा(प)रायणं च हृदये ध्यात्वा गणाधीश्वरं ।  
नानालंकृतिजातिरीतिमहितं श्रीविश्वनाथः कविः  
काव्यं शम्भुविलासनाम कुस्ते संख्यावतां प्रीतये ॥ १ ॥”

“ध्यात्वा मानसपूजनं च विधिवत्कृत्वा कविर्ब्राह्मणः  
श्लोकान्विश्वगुरोः पुरोऽपठदिमान्श्रीविश्वनाथो निजान् ।”

Canto I consists of 40 stanzas, II of 80 stanzas, and III of 14 stanzas. At the end of Canto II the following date of copy is recorded:—

“संवत् १७७६<sup>१</sup> माघ-शुद्ध-त्रयोदशी भौमवासरे लि० ॥ उद्धवजी नापेश ।”

The MS. ends as follows:—

“इति श्रीचित्तपावनजातीय रानडोपनामक कविश्रीविश्वनाथकृते श्रीशंभु-  
विलास शेषनाम काव्ये [०विलासाख्ये काव्ये I, II.] तृतीयः सर्गः ।”

It is clear from the above lines that विश्वनाथ was a *Chittapāvan* Brahmin of the surname रानडे who had migrated to Benares for spiritual reasons (ब्रह्म हृदि स्मरन्) after having realized the futility of existence (ज्ञात्वा प्रपञ्चं मृषा).<sup>2</sup> These reasons are stated

On p. 245 Krishnamachariar observes: ‘घुण्डिराज व्यासयज्वन्, son of Lakṣmaṇa, composed a comm. on मुद्राराक्षस in 1713 A.D. probably at the direction of King Śarabhoji (of Tanjore)’.

The identity of घुण्डिराज, the guru of विश्वनाथ भट्ट (Rāṇaḍe), with घुण्डिराज व्यासयज्वन् of A.D. 1713 needs to be proved on independent evidence, if it is suggested by Krishnamachariar.

<sup>1</sup> This date corresponds to 11th February, 1720, which is a Thursday according to Ephemeris (vide *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. VI, p. 242).

<sup>2</sup> In a work called the अद्वैतसुधा (B.O.R.I., MS. No. 143 of 1902-07), composed by लक्ष्मणपंडित in A.D. 1662, he states that he migrated to

by him in verse 14 of Canto III which precedes the above colophon and reads as follows:—

“भुक्त्वा वैषयिकं सुखं कविरसौ स जातबोधस्ततो  
दृश्यं स्थावरजंगमात्क(०त्मक)मिदं ज्ञात्वा प्रपञ्चं मृषा ।  
सर्वानन्दगृहं परात्परतरं श्रीराजराजेश्वरी-  
रूपं ब्रह्म हृदि स्मरन् शिव(व)ने काश्यां स्थितिर्निर्ममे ॥ १४ ॥”

Dr. Eggeling has devoted three pages<sup>1</sup> to the description of the only MS. of Viśvanātha's *Śṛṅgāravāṭikā*. His description pertaining to the author and the subject of the drama is as follows:—

‘*Śṛṅgāravāṭikā* (or *Śṛṅgāravāpikā* as it is frequently called in the MS.), a play (*nāṭikā*), in four acts by विश्वनाथभट्ट कवि (pupil of धुण्डिराज), son of महादेवभट्ट सूरि, grandson of विष्णुभट्ट कोविद, and great-grandson of हरिभट्ट पंडित of the चित्तावन family. The subject of the play is the love of the young King of Avanti चन्द्रकेतु and कान्तिमती daughter of King रत्नपाल of चंपावती”.

In the following verse at the commencement of the play the author bows to his *guru* Dhunḍirāja:—

“यच्छिष्यै रचिता जयति जगति ग्रंथा हि ते यान् क्षणं  
दृष्ट्वा मस्तकधूर्णनं वितनुते वागीश्वरोऽपि स्वयं ।  
तस्मै वैदिकतांत्रिकाध्वरविदे श्रीदुर्धिराजाय मे  
विश्वेऽस्मिन् स्थिरकीर्तयेऽस्ति गुरवे सद्बुद्धिदात्रे नमः ॥ १ ॥”

Evidently Dhunḍirāja had a large following of pupils including our *Chittapāvan* author. These pupils had composed some works of value, being inspired to do so by their illustrious *guru* who is called by the epithet ‘वैदिकतांत्रिकाध्वरविद्’.

Benares from Maharashtra for spiritual reasons after abandoning all his belongings (दक्षिणदिश्यपास्य श्रियः काश्यामुदासीनमतिः etc.). Lakṣmaṇa-bhaṭṭa appears to have been a contemporary of Viśvanāthabhaṭṭa Rāṇaḍe and went to Benares for reasons identical with those mentioned by Viśvanāthabhaṭṭa in verse 14 of Canto III of the *Sambhuvilāsa*. Lakṣmaṇa had two preceptors, (1) रामाश्रम and (2) उत्तमश्लोक, like Viśvanātha's two *gurus*: (1) कमलाकर and (2) धुण्डिराज.

<sup>1</sup> *IO. MSS. Cata.*, VII, pp. 1615–1618—MS. No. 4196 (274)—

‘Foll. 42, size 11 in. by 4½ in., Devanāgarī character. Foll. 1–26 written in a large clear hand, about 1650 A.D.; eight lines in a page. Foll. 27–42 in a smaller slanting hand in 1706 A.D.; twelve lines in a page.’

After the above salutation to the *guru* the Sūtradhāra introduces the author of the play in a long passage which states that the play was written by the order of 'महाराजाधिराज-श्रीरामसिंह-महीपाल' and then gives us some details about the author's pedigree as follows:—

हरिभट्ट (पंडित) of 'चित्तपावन जाती'  
 |  
 son  
 विष्णुभट्ट (कोविद)  
 |  
 son  
 महादेवभट्ट (सूरि)  
 |  
 son  
 विश्वनाथ (कवि), author of शृंगारवापिका

The introductory passage <sup>1</sup> referred to above calls विश्वनाथ कवि as 'कमलाकरांतेवासि', i.e. pupil of कमलाकर. We have already referred to another *guru* of our author, viz. दुंदिराज. I believe that कमलाकर, mentioned by our author is identical with कमलाकरभट्ट, the author of *Nirṇayasindhu*, composed in A.D. 1612, and whose literary activity is assigned by scholars <sup>2</sup> to the period between A.D. 1610 and A.D. 1640.

The Sūtradhāra next makes a reference to कुमार विष्णुसिंह for whose entertainment रामसिंह महीपाल had ordered the performance of this drama:—

<sup>1</sup> This passage reads as follows:—

“अद्याहं परममहिमपरमात्मपादपद्मालयद्वंद्वनिर्द्वंद्वभक्तिमकरंदास्वादनसदामोद-  
 मानमहोदारमनोमिलितेन० . . . . . श्रीमहाराजाधिराजश्रीरामसिंह-महीपालेनाज्ञप्तो-  
 ज्जमीति । भो भो कमलाकरांतेवासिन् (? ०सि-) श्रीविश्वनाथकविविरचिता  
 चंद्रकेतुमहीपालचरित्रविराजिता शृंगारवापिका नाम नाटिकास्तीत्यस्माभिर्बहुदिनं  
 श्रूयते । तदद्य सुमतिना त्वया सा विस्तीर्णोऽस्मिन्सभामंडपे गीतवाद्याद्यैरभिनेत-  
 व्येति । अस्ति च तेन चित्तपावनजातीयेन निखिलमहाजनसमाजसंमानितहरिभट्ट-  
 पंडितप्रपौत्रेण प्रतिदिनं वेदवेदांतादिसकलशास्त्राध्यापनकृतकालक्षेपणस्य विष्णुभट्ट-  
 कोविदस्य पौत्रेण निरंतरं श्रौतस्मार्तानुष्ठानपरायणमतिश्रीमहादेवभट्ट-सूरिसुतेन  
 श्रीविश्वनाथ (भट्ट marg.) कविना सास्माकमनुग्रहबुद्ध्या पाठिता समर्पिता च ।”

<sup>2</sup> P. V. Kane: *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I, p. 437.



“आर्ये विष्णुसिंहं कुमारं पुरस्कृत्य शृंगारवापिकाभिनयप्रदर्शनार्थं श्रीराम-  
सिंहमहीपालेनाज्ञप्तोऽस्मि ।”

The play may have been meant not only for Prince विष्णुसिंह but for other associate princes as well, as will be seen from the following words of the Sūtradhāra:—

“अद्यासौ बहुमोदतां कविरमी शृंगारवापीं यथा  
गाहतां नृपसूनवः<sup>1</sup> सुखवशाद्रात्रिर्नृजेत्सूस्मतां ।”

We are further given by the Sūtradhāra the genealogy of Raja Rāma Siṃha in several verses.<sup>2</sup> This genealogy is as follows:—

<sup>1</sup> Vide pp. 234-235 of Tavernier's *Travels in India*, Vol. II, 1889 (London). ‘Tavernier passed down the Ganges reaching Rajmahal on the 4th of January, 1666. On the 6th M. Bernier left him to go to Kasimbazar, while he proceeded to Dacca, etc.’ (p. xxviii of *Intro.* to Vol. I). Tavernier visited a house at Benares which was used as a college for the education of the youth of good families. It was founded by Raja Jaising (father of Ramsing), the ‘most powerful of the idolatrous princes, who was then in the empire of the Great Mogul’. Tavernier ‘saw the children of this Prince (Jaising) who were being educated there and had as teachers several *Brahmins* who taught them to read and write in a language which is reserved to the priests of the idols and is very different from that spoken by the people’. ‘Having entered the court of this college being curious to see it and throwing my eyes upwards, I perceived a double gallery which ran all round it, and in the lower one these *two princes* were seated accompanied by many young nobles and numerous *Brahmins* who were making different figures like those of mathematics on the ground with chalk. As soon as I entered these *princes* sent to inquire who I was, and having learnt that I was a Frenchman they invited me to ascend, when they asked me many things about Europe and especially about France. One of the *Brahmins* had two globes, which the Dutch had given him and I pointed out the position of France upon them. After some conversation of this kind they presented me with *betel*, etc.’

[The *two princes* whom Tavernier met are evidently *Ramsing* and *Kiratsing*, the sons of Jaising I. It is possible to suppose that *Viśvanātha Rāṇaḍe* may have been one of the *Brahmins* who educated Ramsing and his brother at the Benares College and later after A.D. 1667, when Ramsing came to the throne, *Viśvanātha* was asked to compose a drama for Ramsing's son, *Viṣṇusīṃha* or *Bishansing*.]

<sup>2</sup> These verses read as follows:—

“आसीत्सूर्यकुले मनुपमनिभः श्रीमानसिंहाभिधो  
राजा रंजितपंडितेन्द्रनिवहः सिंहेपमो विक्रमे ।  
कीर्त्या सर्वदिगंत नित्यगतयाप्यासन्नया सर्वदा  
कर्णश्रीवलिभोजराजगणनाकाले पुरा कीर्तितः ॥ १ ॥  
तस्मात्कीर्तिसितीकृतत्रिभुवनात् श्रीपूर्णिमाचंद्रवद्  
भूमीद्राद्भुजशालिनः किल जगत्सिंहः कुमारोऽभवत् ।  
सर्वान्यो युवराज एव वश्यामासारिसार्थान्यथा  
मातंगान् सृजिरोजसाऽजिशिरसि श्रीकार्तिकेयोपमः ॥ २ ॥

मानसिंह ( of सूर्यकुल )

जगत्सिंह

महासिंह

जयसिंह

रामसिंह

This genealogy exactly tallies with the genealogy of the Jaipur kings as we find it recorded in the current reference books.<sup>1</sup>

As regards the date of composition of the *Śṛṅgāravāpikā* I have to point out that it must have been composed after the succession<sup>2</sup>

तस्मिन्वंदिमुखांबुजेषु मधुरान् श्रीसाधुवादान्निजान्  
धृत्वा वासवमित्रतां सति गते तत्पुत्रमुर्वीमिमां ।  
शासत्सन् शुशुभे तरामिह महासिंहाभिधः संपदा  
यश्चासीद्वनदोपमो गुणिजनग्रामप्रदः सर्वदा ॥ ३ ॥  
तस्मान्मानिजनादि नाम्न उदभूद्राज्ञो महामानवान्  
राजा राजदुदारचारुचरितो विश्वंभराभूषणं ।  
नाम्ना श्रीजयसिंहल्यविहितो दानैस्तु कर्णाधिकः  
बुद्ध्या चित्रशिखंडिनन्दनसमः सिंहोपमो विक्रमे ॥ ४ ॥  
तस्या शेषाचलेशार्चितपदसरणः श्रीसुधर्मोपमायां  
केचित्किंसभायां कतिचन विबुधाः सांख्यपातञ्जले च ।  
केचित्साहित्य शाब्दे तत इतरबुधा श्रौतयौगे च शास्त्रे  
व्याख्यायावाप्यमानं निजवसतिगृहं यानवंतश्च जग्मुः ॥ ५ ॥  
सूनुस्तस्य सुधारणवोदितसुधाधामोपमो दीप्तिभिर्-  
भूमीन्द्रस्य जयन्तवत्तयनयोः पित्रोः सदानंदकृत्  
राज्यं प्राप्य पुरुरवा इव परः श्रीरामसिंहाख्यया ।  
यः ख्यातो भुवि विक्रमांचितभुजः श्रीपार्वतीपुत्रवत् ॥ ६ ॥

<sup>1</sup> Vide *Mahārāṣṭrīya Jñānakōṣa*, Vol. XIII, p. ज (121). Mānsing died in A.D. 1615. Mahāsing came to the throne in A.D. 1620. विशनसिंग is mentioned as the successor of Rāmsing. After विशनसिंग Savai Jaising came to the throne in A.D. 1699.

<sup>2</sup> Ramsing came to the throne of Jaipur in A.D. 1667 after the death of his father Mirza Raja Jaising in the month of July 1667 at Burhanpur (vide p. 112 of *Chronology of India* by Burgess, 1913). Ramsing was ordered to Gawahatti in Assam where he remained till 1675.

Ramsing is supposed to have had a hand in Shivaji's escape from Agra in A.D. 1666 (p. 111).

of Rāmsing to the throne of Jaipur as it appears to refer to this succession in the following line:—

“ राज्यं प्राप्य पुरुरवा इव परः श्रीरामसिंहाख्यया । ”

Secondly, it refers to कुमारविष्णुसिंह<sup>1</sup> who was obviously the heir-apparent to the throne and for whose entertainment this play was composed by Viśvanātha by the order of Rāmsing who is called by the title ‘महाराजाधिराज’ as already noted above.

In the following verse<sup>2</sup> we are told that Rāmsing was served by other Rajput princes like *Arjuna (Simha ?)*, *Hindu Simha*, *Hari Simha Rāvala*, *Jayat Simha*, etc.:—

“ वीरैरर्जुनहिंदुसिंह सबलानंदोग्रसिंहोद्भूट-

श्रेष्ठश्रीहरिसिंहरावलजयत्सिंहादिभिः सेवितं ।

यं दृष्ट्वा समरे सपत्नपूतना संत्रस्य भावानथो

घत्तेष्टावपि सात्त्विकान्नवधूतुल्यं प्रगल्भाप्यहो ॥ ”

Students of the history of the Jaipur State will be able to identify the Rajput names mentioned in the above verse.

The later limit to the date of *Śṛṅgāravāpikā* would be about A.D. 1675 because Ramsing died about this time.<sup>3</sup> It appears, therefore, that Viśvanāthabhaṭṭa Rānade composed his drama *Śṛṅgāravāpikā* between A.D. 1667 and 1675.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The *Īśvaravilāsakāvya* (MS. No. 273 of 1884-86—B.O.R. Institute) gives the genealogy of the Jaipur kings in the first canto. According to this genealogy two princes are mentioned after रामसिंह. They are (1) कृष्णसिंह and (2) विष्णुसिंह. The interest of विष्णुसिंह in poetry and music is testified by the following verse on folio 6 of *Īśvaravilāsakāvya* :—

“ नानाकौतुककाव्यनाटककथासंगीतभर्गिभरै-

र्यस्तावन्मथुरापुरीमधिवसन् भोगाश्चकार स्वयं ।

खेलोत्खातखलेति खड्गजबले खंगारपुत्रेऽखिलां

क्षिप्त्वा राज्यधुरं धुरंधरवरे वीरे हरीसिंहके ॥ ”

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Office Cata.*, VII, p. 1617.

<sup>3</sup> Vide p. 328 of *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* by Beale, London, 1904.—‘RAM SING I . . . . . His son Bishun Singh succeeded him after his death about the year A.D. 1675’.

<sup>4</sup> Vide p. 110 of *Beale's Dictionary of Ori. Biography*—Bishun Singh (= विष्णुसिंह mentioned as कुमार by Viśvanātha) was the son of Ram-sing and father of Sewai Jaising. Bishun Singh died about the year A.D. 1693 (A.H. 1105).

From the *Hindi MSS. Report* (for 1909-1911), Allahabad, 1914, pp. 16-17, we learn that Kulapati Miśra composed his द्रोणपर्व भाषा or a metrical

The surname *Rāṇaḍe* of Viśvanātha as also his caste-name चित्तपावन is clearly mentioned by him in the body of the text of the drama *Śṛṅgāravāpikā* towards the close of the work which reads as follows:—

“यो जात्या खलु चित्तपावन इति ख्यातस्तथोपाख्यया

विख्यातो भुवि रानडा इति जडाज्ञानापहानौ कृती ।

तस्य श्रीकवि-विश्वनाथविदुषो (ड) दोषोज्झितैषा कृतिः

कुर्याच्चेतसि संमदं बहुविधं संख्यावतां संप्रति ॥ ८९ ॥

इति निष्क्रान्ताः सर्वे ॥ चतुर्थोऽङ्कः ॥ इति श्रीचित्तपावनजातीय  
रानडयोपनामक कवि-विश्वनाथ-भट्टविरचिता शृंगारवापिका नाम नाटिका  
कास्यां परिपूर्णा संवत् १७६३ समए अगहन वदि अष्टमी ।”

The above MS. of this drama, dated A.D. 1707, is the earliest dated MS. of the work. Whether Viśvanātha composed any other works I cannot say at present. It is for the present Rāṇaḍe families to see if they can identify Viśvanātha and his three ancestors, whose names he has recorded in the drama before us. It is also a matter for investigation whether Viśvanātha had any sons and whether his descendant is represented in the living Rāṇaḍe families in the Maharashtra or outside. I have pointed out earlier in this paper a Rāṇaḍe family residing near Devagad in the Ratnagiri District of the Bombay Presidency. It is not improbable that Viśvanātha's ancestors, viz. father महादेव, grandfather विष्णु, and great-grandfather हरि had their home in the Ratnagiri District and may have been connected with the contemporary Rāṇaḍe family residing near Devagad between A.D. 1600 and 1675.

A court-poet of Sevai Jaising, who had close knowledge of the ancestry of Jaipur princes, has given us a fine description of Ramsing's interest in literature. This poet is Kṛṣṇa Kavi who in his *Īśvaravilāsakāvya* (composed about A.D. 1744) refers to Ramsing I as follows:—

Folio 5 of MS. No. 273 of 1884-86—

“तत्पुत्रो रामसिंहः सकलवसुमतीभाग्यसौभाग्यभूमा

भूयः श्यामासिधूमानुमितपरबलोत्तापितेजो हताशः ।

यः सौंदर्यप्रसारैर्जगति रतिपतिर्भाविनं मानभंगं

स्वस्याभिज्ञाय विज्ञस्तनुमतनुहरक्रोधकुंडे जुहाव ॥ ३९ ॥

version of the *Draṇaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* in A.D. 1676 under the patronage of Ramsing of Jaipur. In the Beale's *Dictionary of Ori. Biography* (p. 328) we are told that Ramsing died about A.D. 1675. This date conflicts with the date of composition of Kulapati Miśra's work composed under Rāmsing's patronage.

काले प्रालेय-हेमाचलयुगलमपि प्रस्खलेत्सागरोऽपि  
 क्षोभेण त्यक्तवेलो भवति न तु चलेद्रामसिंहोऽतिधीरः ।  
सेवासुंभावसंभाविततम यवनाधीशकाराविमाकौ  
 सद्यो निर्मोच्य भूयस्तरमुपरि भरं स्वात्मनः सोऽयमूहे ॥ ४० ॥  
 यस्योत्तुंगतुरंगसंगतमदप्रोद्दाममातंगभू-  
 भारांदोलचलाचलाचलधरा चक्रस्य यात्राविधौ ।  
आसामाधिपतिः प्रकंपितमतिः कष्टेन हा वर्त्तते  
 प्रायोऽनन्यगतिर्भवे सवरुणं कृत्वा शरण्यस्थितं ॥ ४१ ॥  
 काव्यालापकलाकलापकलनाकौतूहलौत्कर्षकः  
 प्रोद्यन्नाटकसाटकप्रहसनाख्यानप्रबंधोत्सुकः  
 श्रीरामायणभारतादि विलसत्यौराणवाग्विस्तर-  
 क्षीरांभोनिधिराजहंसरुचिरः श्रीरामसिंहो नृपः ॥ ४२ ॥  
 पूर्वदिग्विजयमुद्रहतोऽस्य प्रोद्भूटाः किल भटाः सुविशंकाः ।  
 रंगमृद्भुवि कुरंगमृगव्यां चक्रिरे परविलासवनेषु ॥ ४३ ॥  
 भूयो निःसानघोषप्रपतदतिहिमोपद्रवेणातिदुर्गान्  
 दुर्ग्राह्यान्काबिलादीन्बलखबुखहरारूमसामांतदेशान् ।  
 यः सद्यो निर्जिगाय प्रबलनिजबलाच्छादितारातिभूमिः  
 प्रोद्यत्सांग्रामिकाश्चप्रवरपरिलसत्पृष्ठपल्याणरोपं ॥ ४४ ॥ <sup>1</sup>

I shall now record the chronology of Viśvanātha Mahādeva Rāṇaḍe, his contemporaries and predecessors as far as could be reconstructed from the data recorded in this paper:—

A.D.

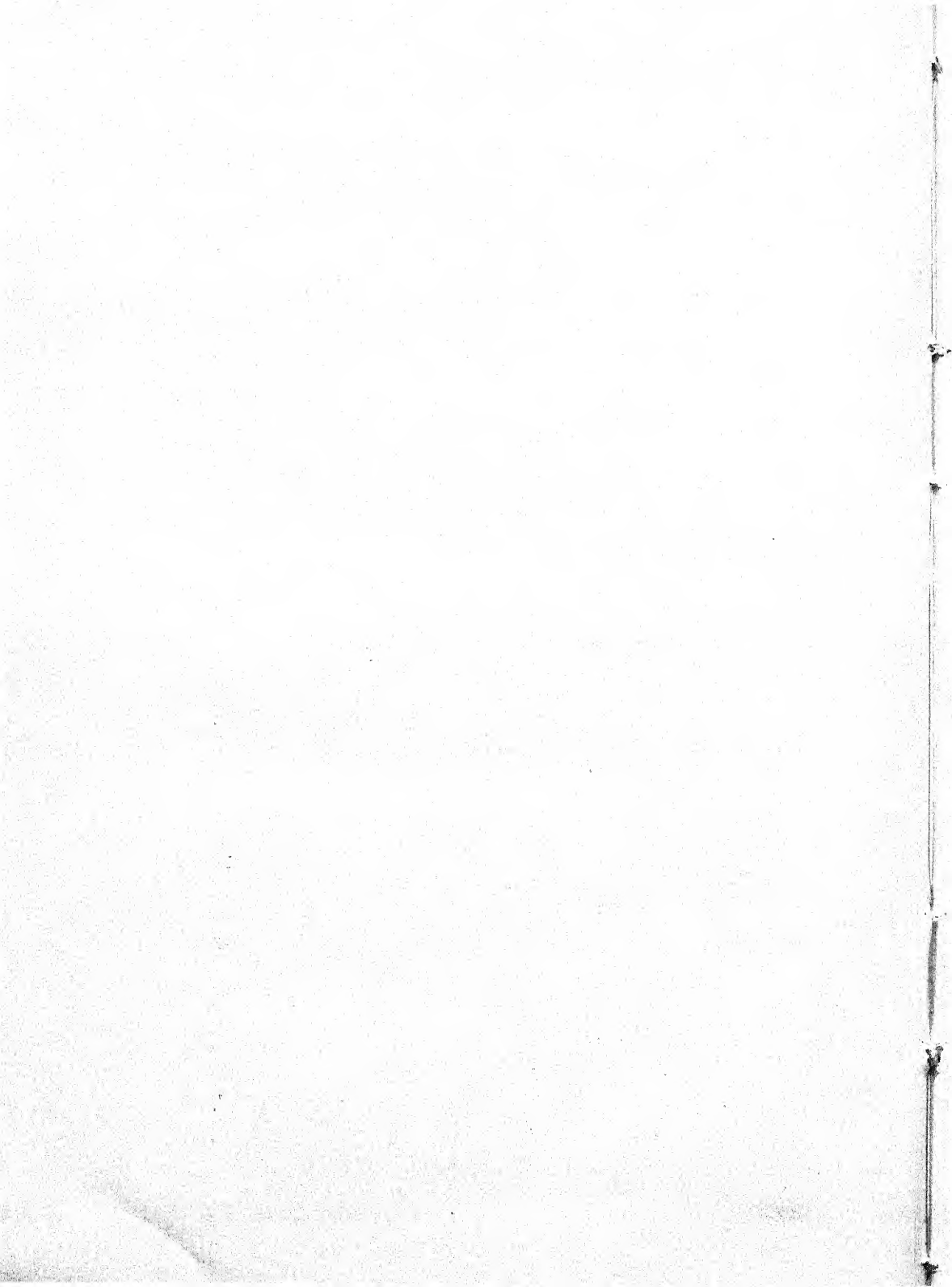
- 1600 .. The great-grandfather of Viśvanātha (= VMR) probably lived at this time. His name was हरिभट्ट as recorded by VMR.
- 1612 .. Kamalākaraḥṭṭa composed his *Nirṇayasindhu*. VMR is called the pupil of Kamalākara (कमलाकरान्तेवासी).
- 1625 ... विष्णुभट्ट, the grandfather of VMR was possibly living at this time.

<sup>1</sup> सेवा and सुभा in verse 40 are Shivaji and Sambhaji respectively. Rāmsing had a hand in their escape from Agra. After Jaising's death in A.D. 1667 Rāmsing was made governor of Assam (verse 41). Rāmsing's love of literature is described in verse 42. It was this love of नाटक's and प्रहसन्'s that evidently encouraged विश्वनाथ रानडे to compose शृंगारवापिका.

- A.D.
- 1633 .. One *Gopālabhaṭṭa Rāṇaḍe* was living at Jamsade near Devagad in the Ratnagiri District of the Bombay Presidency. He was contemporary of Viṣṇubhaṭṭa Rāṇaḍe, the grandfather of *VMR*.
- 1610-1640 Period of the literary activity of Kamalākara, the author of *Nirṇayasindhu*.
- c. 1640 .. Probable time of the contact of *VMR* with his *guru* Kamalākara at Benares.
- 1660 .. One Rogbhaṭ Rāṇaḍe living near Devagad (Ratnagiri District).
- 1666 .. Tavernier meets the two sons of Mirza Raja Jaising at a Benares College. One of them was Rāmsing.
- 1667 .. Death of Mirza Raja Jaysing, the father of *VMR*'s patron Rāmsing.
- 1667 .. Rāmsing came to the throne of Jaipur. He had a hand in Shivaji's escape from Agra in A.D. 1666.
- c. 1675-76 Death of Rāmsing according to some sources.
- 1667-1683<sup>1</sup> Contact of *VMR* with Raja Rāmsing and composition of *Śṛṅgāravāṭikā* for Prince Viṣṇusirṁha.
- 1676 .. Kulapati Miśra composed his *Draṇaparva* under the patronage of Rāmsing.
- 1682 .. Sanskrit letter of Sambhaji to Rāmsing.
- 1693 .. Death of Viṣṇusirṁha (or Bishansing), father of Sewai Jaising (A.D. 1699-1744).
- 1706 .. Date of India Office MS. of *Śṛṅgāravāṭikā* by *VMR*.
- 1720 .. Date of India Office MS. of *Sambhuvilāsa* by *VMR*.

<sup>1</sup> After this paper was drafted I had occasion to read Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai's paper in the *P. V. Kane Volume* (1941) on 'An Unknown but Daring Project of King Sambhaji', pp. 390-394. This paper refers to two Sanskrit letters of Sambhaji to Raja Rāmsing of Jaipur addressed in A.D. 1683. One of these letters is dated 'c. 1682'. This date clearly shows that Rāmsing did not die c. 1675 as stated in *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* (p. 328) but that he was living in A.D. 1682. Viśvanātha Rāṇaḍe mentions कुमार विष्णुसिंह and also states that he composed his work for this prince by order of Rāmsing. Rao Bahadur Sardesai says (in his footnote on p. 391 of his paper) that *Krishna Singh* or *Kisan Singh* was the only son of Rāmsing. This son was put to death at about the age of 19 near Parenda on 18th April, 1682, by Aurangzeb for complicity with his rebel son Akbar. Sambhaji mentions 'कुमार कृष्णसिंह' in his letter to Rāmsing referred to above. He also mentions 'हाडा दुर्जनसिंह' who rose against Aurangzeb and was later killed in a fight. Viśvanātha Rāṇaḍe also mentions 'अर्जुन हिंदुसिंह'. Is he identical with 'हाडा दुर्जनसिंह'? Without a reliable history of Jaipur, based on contemporary sources, I find it difficult to deal with these names.





## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

**The Philosophy of Aesthetic Pleasure.** By P. Pañcapāgeśa Śāstrī, Vyākaraṇa-Sāhitya and Vedānta Śiromani, M.O.L., with a Foreword by MM. S. Kuppusvāmi Śāstrigal Avargal, M.A., I.E.S. (retired). Annamalai University, Annamalai-nagar, 1940. Annamalai University Sanskrit Series No. 6.

The work before us aims at explaining in full details the philosophy of Aesthetic pleasure evolved through centuries by the Sanskrit rhetoricians. The pioneer in the field is Bharata, author of the Nāṭya Sūtra. He is the first to define Rasa and tries to show how its realization takes place in the spectator of a drama or even in a listener of a Kāvya. Bharata's Sūtra in this behalf is however, a little vague and hence gives rise to various interpretations by which the theory of Rasa is sought to be expounded. Thus we have: (1) the Generation theory of Rasa of Bhaṭṭa Lollaṭa; (2) the Inference theory of Śrī Śaṅkuka; (3) the Enjoyment theory of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka; and, lastly, (4) the Revelation theory of Abhinava Gupta followed by eminent rhetoricians like Maṃmaṭa and Jagannātha. According to the first and the second theories, the permanent mental conditions called Sthāyī Bhāvas in the original character become developed into Rasa and are either superimposed (p. 75) upon the actor who impersonates him, or are inferred in him (p. 91) by the spectator and this superimposition or inference is a source of immense pleasure to him. According to the third theory, these emotions and mental conditions are presented to the spectator in an idealized impersonal way by what is called Bhāvakatva in poetry and thereafter, by his power of Enjoyment—Bhogakatva—his mind becomes concentrated and undistracted and enjoys great pleasure (p. 143). Abhinava Gupta's own theory is that by the operation of the Vibhāvas, Anubhāvas and Vyabhiçāribhāvas, the Sthāyibhāva of the spectator *himself* is consummated into a relishable emotional condition or Rasa, and the spectator enjoys it (p. 49). The author summarizes this theory on p. 193 and gives its important features on p. 204.

The exposition of the first three theories given by the author is based on the discussion of these by Abhinava Gupta, Ānanda-vardhana, Hemacandra and other later writers. The works of Lollaṭa, Śaṅkuka and Nāyaka are unfortunately not available to us to-day. The work is virtually an exposition of Bharata's Rasa Sūtra, with the help of several interpretations of earlier writers like Lollaṭa found in the works of Abhinava Gupta and others. The author naturally accepts Abhinava Gupta's view as the best. At the end, a chapter is added on the status of the Śānta as a Rasa in Poetry.

On the whole, the author's exposition is clear and lucid, though to a certain extent, it is marred by repetition and verbosity. We are told that the work was offered and approved as the author's thesis for the degree of Master of Oriental Learning by the University of Madras.

H. D. VELANKAR.

**Mahāpurāṇa of Puṣpadanta**, Vol. II. Critically edited by Dr. P. L. Vaidya, M.A., D.Litt., and published by Manickchand Dig. Jaina Granthamālā, Bombay, 1940. Price Rs.10 only.

This is the second part of Puṣpadanta's Mahāpurāṇa, which is a Jain Epic in Apabhraṃśa of the 10th century A.D. The first part consisting of the first 37 chapters, usually known as the Ādi Purāṇa since it describes the life of the 1st Tirthaṅkara Ādinātha, was issued out by the same publishers in 1937. The present volume contains a part of the Uttara Purāṇa, namely chs. 38-80. The Uttara Purāṇa describes the lives of the remaining 23 Tirthaṅkaras and forms the second part of the Mahā Purāṇa. In the MS. tradition, the Ādi and the Uttara Purāṇas are separately copied and preserved and it is rare to find one and the same MS. containing both the Ādi and the Uttara Purāṇas.

Dr. Vaidya's edition is based on three good MSS. Only one of these contains also the Ādi Purāṇa and therefore was described by him in the introduction to Vol. I, pp. xi-xii. The other two contain only the Uttara Purāṇa and therefore are described for the first time in the present volume. Both these MSS. are complete and pretty old (dated Sam. 1615 and 1630 respectively). The editor has also made full use of another MS. of the Tippiṇa ascribed to Prabhācandra and has prepared his foot-notes given below the text with the help of this Tippiṇa.

The edition of the text is carefully prepared and the foot-notes together with the brief notes and appendices given at the end constitute a good help for the understanding of this rather difficult poem. One is really glad to find that the author has not given us a Glossary in this volume. For, a Glossary of the type of the one which was given in Vol. I is too scanty to be useful and too commonplace to be considered scholarly. It neither aims at giving most of the difficult words occurring in the text, so as to save the trouble of a reader in referring to a dictionary, nor does it select only the most difficult words in the Apabhraṃśa language which are not found in the Prākṛta dictionaries and explain them. Even in the next volume, we rather recommend a more liberal use of the Tippiṇa for the construction of the foot-notes given below the text, which would not leave any necessity for a reference to Glossary. The Proprietors of the M.D. Jaina Granthamālā are to be congratulated on this their venture in publishing this very

important poem in spite of great difficulties and we eagerly await the publication of the third and the last volume.

H. D. VELANKAR.

**Studies in the Purāṇic records on Hindu rites and customs**

by R. C. Hazra, M.A., Ph.D. Published by the University of Dacca, April, 1940. Pp. v+349.

The work is in the form of a thesis presented by the author for the Ph.D. degree of the University of Dacca. The author has attempted to discuss critically the whole course of the development of the Purāṇic rites and customs during the period between 200 A.D. and 1000 A.D. For this purpose he has divided the work into two parts. In Part I he has tried to determine rather approximately the chronology of the Purāṇic chapters dealing with Hindu rites and customs and Part II is mainly devoted to the description of different stages in the development of the Purāṇic Dharma. Besides these two parts there is a useful Appendix I containing a long list of quotations from the extant Purāṇas found in the Commentaries and the Nibandhas. Untraceable Purāṇic verses are given in a separate Appendix. The dates provisionally fixed by the author for the Purāṇic chapters on Hindu rites and customs are no doubt tentative, as he admits in the Preface; nevertheless, it must be admitted that the chronological scheme presented in Part I shows a clear grasp by the author of the Purāṇic material and the extent to which he has bestowed careful attention on the problem.

The background of the Hindu society before 200 A.D. as depicted by the author who has mainly relied on the standard works of modern scholars is fairly correct. A clear picture of the Hindu society as influenced by the spread of Jainism, Buddhism, Ājivakism, Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism is certainly indispensable for the proper understanding of later stages in the development of the Hindu Dharma which, as far as this period is concerned, may aptly be called the Purāṇic Dharma. It is very likely that owing to the political supremacy of the Śūdras under the Nandas, the Mauryas and the Āndhras, the insecure condition of Brahmanism must have driven the priest class to make a desperate attempt to re-establish the Varnāśramadharma and the authority of the Vedas with the result that the orthodox section first began to preach the performance of *grhya* rites through Smṛti works and later on Smṛti records on Hindu rites and customs glorifying Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism got incorporated into the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas with a view to arrest the spread of the heretical sects.

In the following period from the third century A.D. onward, barring the Gupta period which was a golden age for the Brahmin culture, the priest class suffered grievously from one more setback

as a result of foreign invasions and the spread of non-Brahmanical sects such as those of the Pāñcarātras and the Tāntriks. Consequently the authors of the Purāṇas deemed it necessary to add chapters on *pūjā*, *vrata*, *homa*, etc., thus rendering the Purāṇic Dharma composite (*vyāmiśra*) in character. How the Brāhmaṇas endeavoured to uphold the authority of the Vedas and Varṇāśrama-dharma during this period can best be seen from the chapters in the Purāṇas glorifying the *grhasthāśrama*, containing fabricated stories to show the consequences of violation of rules and learned disquisitions on the theory of *karma-vipāka*. A careful study of the Purāṇic material will go a long way, as shown above, in endorsing the author's point of view that two main stages are discernible in the Purāṇic records during the period of eight centuries between 200 A.D. and 1000 A.D. The first stage ranging between 200 and 500 A.D. is marked by an attempt on the part of the Purāṇic writers to treat such topics on Hindu rites and customs as formed the subject-matter of the Smṛtis like those of Manu and Yājñavalkya whereas in the following next stage there is a clear tendency to expatiate on other topics such as sacrifices to the planets and their pacification, *homas*, consecration of images, the descriptions of *vratas* and *pūjās* and finally glorification of gifts and holy places.

These conclusions reached by the author may appear on the whole to a fastidious critic as not very original or striking. It should, however, be remembered that they are calculated to clear the ground and pave the way for further research in so far as the author has, indeed, been successful in sifting out the Purāṇic material, in locating the notable changes and their causes through numerous vicissitudes in the religious and political history of ancient India. Especially in the neglected field of Purāṇic research the work under review is a distinctly welcome contribution.

V. A. GADGIL.

**The Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa of Sāgaranandin, Vol. I, Text.** Edited by Myles Dillon of University College, Dublin. Oxford University Press, 1937. Pp. xx+147.

The present edition of the Nāṭakalakṣaṇaratnakośa which is a treatise on the technique of Sanskrit Dramaturgy, has been prepared from a modern transcript in Devanāgarī entrusted to the editor by the late Professor Sylvain Lévi who discovered the original palm-leaf MS. during his visit to Nepal in 1922. It seems that Sāgaranandin, the author of the treatise, is not known except in connection with this work. As the text is based on only one available MS., the editor's task of suggesting emendations has been rendered very difficult, especially in the case of Prākṛit passages quoted in the text from unpublished plays. Under these circumstances, he has, indeed, taken great care to remove various irre-

gularities of the scribe and has also successfully identified many quotations. There was no division into sections or chapters in the original MS., but the editor has with discretion arranged the text into nineteen chapters in accordance with the nature of different topics. At the end of the text which is very nicely and neatly printed, there are four useful Indices, viz. *Pratīka Index*, *Index of quotations from the Nāṭyaśāstra*, *Index of titles* and *Index of authors*.

As regards the date of the treatise M. Lévi believes that the text does not seem to derive from the *Daśarūpa* but on the other hand it appears to be one of the sources drawn upon by the author of the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* (14th century). In his opinion the work may therefore be placed as early as the thirteenth century. This is likely in view of the fact that the text appears to contain a quotation from the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* of Rājasekhara (10th century). It is interesting to note, as the author has pointed out in the Preface, that Raṅganāth (1656 A.D. approximately), the commentator of the *Vikramorvaśīya* cites *Sāgara* by name and Rucipati (1613 A.D. approximately), the Commentator of the *Anargharāghava* cites the *Ratnakośa*, probably the present text. It is hoped that the editor will discuss critically the question of the date and other relevant topics more fully in the Introduction that he proposes to write in the second volume.

V. A. GADGIL.

**The Waqfiyah of Ahmed Pāšā.** By Muhammad Ahmed Simsar, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1940. Pp. x+203.

This monograph deals with a manuscript in the John Frederick Lewis collection at the Free Library of Philadelphia. The document is a copy of a *Waqfiyah* or trust deed relating to the endowment by way of *waqf* of a mosque at Rūs in Rumelia and a mosque and an imaret at Dil in Anatolia by Ahmed Pāšā Hersekoğlu who lived under the Sultans Mehmed Fātih, Bayezid, and Selim. He is not the Ahmed Pāšā famous in the history of Ottoman literature, but he held high posts (including that of Grand Vizier) and (as this document reveals) married a Sultan's daughter. He is said to have been the son of a duke (herzog) of Herzegovina and to owe to this his name of "Hersekoğlu". His *waqf* consisted of seven villages in Rumelia and two in Anatolia and properties in six other localities in Anatolia, the revenues of which were to go to the upkeep of the two mosques and the imaret which was to provide portions for 45 persons daily.

The present volume consists of a facsimile of the manuscript with transliteration and translation facing various introductory chapters, four excursus, an appendix, indices of persons and



places, and bibliography. Documents of this nature are few and this gives the work a certain interest for specialists, although it does not appear to present any peculiarities. The work has been the subject of no doubt laudable, but somewhat excessive care. In a book which only specialists will read, the excursus on the institution of the waqf and the appendix on Hanafi laws concerning the administration of waqfs are unnecessary. The system of transliteration is elaborated to excess. The points of philological interest are few, since the document is of course in highly Arabicised language. The author lists 19 instances of archaic Turkish expressions or usages but we feel doubts as to his explanations of Nos. 14 and 17 and some of the others were hardly worth listing. While commending the evidently great trouble taken by the author, one feels that the results are hardly commensurate.

J. PALMER.

**Early Buddhist Jurisprudence** (Theravāda Vinaya-Laws) by Miss Durga N. Bhagvat, M.A. Publishers: Oriental Book Agency, Poona. Pp. iii+vi+204+vii. Price 5s. or Rs.3.

This book is the revised edition of the thesis for the Master's degree of the University of Bombay submitted by Miss Durga Bhagvat. It appears as the thirteenth book of the Series "Studies in Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay".

The work has a Foreword by E. J. Thomas and contains nine chapters.

The first chapter (pp. 1-17) under the title "Early Monachism" deals with the Asceticism in the Brāhmaṇa-period. The second chapter (pp. 18-40) under the title "The Analysis of the Vinaya-Laws" contains a description of Vinaya-Laws, Vinaya-Literature and the analysis of the offences on the basis of the Vinaya-Laws. The third chapter (pp. 41-63) entitled "The origin and nature of the Vinaya-Laws" deals with topics such as "Vinaya", the principle underlying the Vinaya, the formation of the Vinaya-rules, the contribution of Brahmacharya, etc. The fourth chapter (pp. 64-82) under the title "The Evolution of the Vinaya-Laws" traces antecedents of Evolution, the nature of the change, the Nissayas, the Buddhist councils, etc. The fifth chapter (pp. 83-91) under the title "Promulgation of the Vinaya-Laws" explains the manner of the promulgation of these rules. The sixth chapter (pp. 92-116), namely "Jurisprudence under the Vinaya" deals with the theory of jurisprudence, legal procedure, principles underlying trial, etc. The seventh chapter (pp. 117-122) entitled "Pātimokkha and the fortnightly meetings" deals with the question specified in the title. The eighth chapter (pp. 123-157) entitled "The administration of the Saṅgha" deals with the Saṅgha, its origin, authority, daily

duties, with the formal entrance of a Bhikkhu in the Saṅgha, the property of the Saṅgha, etc. The last chapter (pp. 158–190) entitled “Woman under the Vinaya” deals with the Bhikkhunis, their position, the laws for Bhikkhunis, ordination, dresses, property, general culture, social service, etc.

The authoress treats her subject in a precise and careful manner. She has undoubtedly obtained the knowledge of the facts from the original texts. Evidently she has restricted herself to the laws of the Buddhist Vinaya texts, but it would have been much better had she compared these with the laws of the early Dharmaśāstras more extensively. I propose to offer my detailed criticism of a few points in this book in the following paragraphs.

Thus on p. 12 the illustration of asceticism according to the Sūtras is done by the authoress quite insufficiently. This theme is very important for historical reasons and should have been treated more fully. The classification made by the authoress on pp. 20ff. in regard to offences as the offences (a) against person, (b) against property, (c) against the Saṅgha, (d) against religion, is very correct from the point of view of jurisprudence. The distinction of murders as direct and indirect on p. 38 is especially realistic. Nevertheless, I should like to point out that for greater clarity the authoress should have first discussed the hetero-sexual offences, dividing them into Pārājika, Saṅghādisesa, Thullaccaya, Nissaggiya-Pācittiya, Dukkata, etc., and then the offences against a eunuch, a beast and such others. By such an analysis the work would have gained greater clarity. If the authoress had chosen this form of classification, the problems like “why certain offences belong to Pārājika and the others to Thullaccaya in spite of a great likeness between them, would naturally have obtained their solution. Offences against a woman are to be found also in the Manu and the other Smṛtis (for example, Manu VIII—356, 357, 369, 370, Yājñavalkya-Smṛti, II—284, etc.); and it would have been better if the authoress had at least mentioned the parallel sentences from the Smṛtis. I don’t think that the offence mentioned under point 10, p. 23, should belong to the category of offences against a woman as the intention of Vinaya was rather to protect the Bhikkhu. I believe that the “castrating oneself” on p. 25, line 6, should be considered as an offence against self, and there is no need of creating a special subdivision. Similarly, I think, “Abortion” on pp. 29 and 30 should not have been considered as an offence against a woman, but as a special offence.

At p. 42, l. 20, the authoress asserts that Kauṭilya’s Arthaśāstra declares that Vinaya is natural and external. But this is incorrect. The word Vinaya according to Kauṭilya means a political training and not a moral one, for in the immediately preceding sentence, he declares: “daṇḍa, i.e. punishment, which alone can procure safety and security of life is, in its turn, dependent on Vinaya”. The authoress’ assertion (on p. 49, line 6) that “the Hindu law-givers looked upon three things as the sources of the law, viz. (1) Veda, (2) Smṛti, and (3) Ācāra (custom)” is inaccurate. The Smṛtikāras

often mention more than three things as the sources of law. Cf. e.g. Yājñavalka, I. 7; Manu, II. 12; Kauṭilya, III. 1, etc. On p. 49, line 23, one feels that the authoress has discussed in a superficial and inexact manner the question entitled "Contribution of Brahmacarya". Especially, Book II of Manusmṛti contains an enormous material in this regard and could have been at least mentioned. At p. 61, l. 1, the authoress should have quoted other important passages from Baudhāyana, namely, II. 10.17; 1-11 and others. At p. 61, l. 20, it is not clear which passage of Baudhāyana the authoress had in view because no verse I. 5, 131-134 is really existing. At p. 77, l. 22, the date of the second council at Vesālī is not exact. From the legal point of view the authoress is quite right in giving the opinion on p. 92, l. 26, that in connection with legislation we have to consider two points, viz. (1) the right of promulgation, and (2) the right of putting the ordinance into practice. At p. 104, l. 20, the authoress asserts: "trial by ordeal as we sometimes find in the Dharmaśāstras and Smṛtis"; but the word "sometimes" is clearly misleading. Nearly all the Dharmaśāstras know the institution of ordeals and give a lot of space to this question. On p. 105, line 23, the authoress explains very exactly and rightly why the Bhikkhu did not pay fines.

I think that the authoress is quite right in dividing the property of the "saṅgha" into two kinds, namely, that which could not be disposed of, and that which could be disposed of, on p. 156, l. 5. She fails, however, to mention in this passage the consequences of such a division of property in regard to its administration, improvement, expenses connected with the investments, succession, etc. Although the Culdavaggi does not contain these details, the orders of the Dharmaśāstras concerning it could have been mentioned. On p. 167, l. 16, the "Analysis of the Laws" is very well described by the authoress. I've only the following observations to make: (a) on p. 168, point 4 ought not to have been placed between the "sexual offences"; (b) another kind of sexual offences, namely "Pārājika" mentioned on p. 166, line 16, has not been explained; (c) the so-called "Offences against the Law" ought to have been considered rather as "Offences against the Saṅgha". It is to be regretted that on p. 185, line 7, the so-called "Property of the Bhikkhuṇis" is rather insufficiently described by the authoress. For example she does not explain what the expression "property" signifies in comparison with the well-known term "strīdhana" in the Smṛtis. It does not become clear from the authoress' book whether the property is absolute or limited by time, the more so, when it is not merely a possession during the lifetime of the "Bhikkhuṇis" and so on.

The authoress should have been more careful with her transliteration of Sanskrit names. She should have followed the system adopted by the learned societies like the Bhandarkar Institute or the B.B.R.A. Society. As regards the title of the book I think the title of "The Vinaya-Laws" or "Monks' Institution in Early

Buddhistic Time" would have been more proper. Miss Bhagvat's book is printed on excellent paper and is supplied with a map of the Buddhist World and illustrations of a "Bhikkhu" and "Exhortation of the Bhikkhunis". I only wonder why these two last illustrations were given in a scientific book. In spite of the above deficiencies one should be pleased that this book has appeared; it is desirable that this young authoress continues working on the theme chosen by herself on the subject of Early Buddhist Monachism.

DR. LUDWIK STERNBACH.

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# TRANSLITERATION OF THE SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

अ . . . . .	<i>a</i>	औ . . . . .	<i>au</i>	उ . . . . .	<i>th</i>	भ . . . . .	<i>bh</i>
आ . . . . .	<i>ā</i>	क . . . . .	<i>k</i>	ड . . . . .	<i>ḍ</i>	म . . . . .	<i>m</i>
इ . . . . .	<i>i</i>	ख . . . . .	<i>kh</i>	ढ . . . . .	<i>ḍh</i>	य . . . . .	<i>y</i>
ई . . . . .	<i>ī</i>	ग . . . . .	<i>g</i>	ण . . . . .	<i>ṇ</i>	र . . . . .	<i>r</i>
उ . . . . .	<i>u</i>	घ . . . . .	<i>gh</i>	त . . . . .	<i>t</i>	ल . . . . .	<i>l</i>
ऊ . . . . .	<i>ū</i>	ड . . . . .	<i>ṇ</i>	थ . . . . .	<i>th</i>	व . . . . .	<i>v</i>
ऋ . . . . .	<i>r</i>	च . . . . .	<i>c</i>	द . . . . .	<i>d</i>	श . . . . .	<i>ś</i>
ॠ . . . . .	<i>ṛ</i>	छ . . . . .	<i>ch</i>	ध . . . . .	<i>dh</i>	ष . . . . .	<i>ṣ</i>
ऌ . . . . .	<i>ḷ</i>	ज . . . . .	<i>j</i>	न . . . . .	<i>n</i>	स . . . . .	<i>s</i>
ए . . . . .	<i>e</i>	झ . . . . .	<i>jh</i>	प . . . . .	<i>p</i>	ह . . . . .	<i>h</i>
ऐ . . . . .	<i>ai</i>	ञ . . . . .	<i>ñ</i>	फ . . . . .	<i>ph</i>	ळ . . . . .	<i>ḷ</i>
ओ . . . . .	<i>o</i>	ट . . . . .	<i>ṭ</i>	ब . . . . .	<i>b</i>		

— ( <i>Anusvāra</i> ) . . . . .	<i>m̐</i>	× ( <i>Jihvāmūliya</i> ) . . . . .	<i>h̐</i>
~ ( <i>Anunāsika</i> ) . . . . .	<i>m̐</i>	⋈ ( <i>Upadhmanīya</i> ) . . . . .	<i>ḥ</i>
: ( <i>Visarga</i> ) . . . . .	<i>ḥ</i>	₡ ( <i>Avagraha</i> ) . . . . .	'



# TRANSLITERATION OF ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

## ARABIC

ا . . . . . a	ذ . . . . . z	ق . . . . . q	ـ . . . . . i
ب . . . . . b	س . . . . . s	ك . . . . . k	ـ' . . . . . u
ت . . . . . t	ش . . . . . <u>sh</u>	ل . . . . . l	ـا . . . . . ā
ث . . . . . <u>th</u>	ص . . . . . s	م . . . . . m	ـي . . . . . ī
ج . . . . . j	ض . . . . . ḍ	ن . . . . . n	ـو . . . . . ū
ح . . . . . ḥ	ط . . . . . ṭ	و . . . . . w	ـى . . . . . ai, ay
خ . . . . . <u>kh</u>	ظ . . . . . ṣ	ه . . . . . h	ـو . . . . . au, aw
د . . . . . d	ع . . . . . ʿ	ي . . . . . y	silent t . . . . . ḥ
ذ . . . . . <u>dh</u>	غ . . . . . <u>gh</u>	س . . . . . ʿ	ـ' . . . . . ʿ
ر . . . . . r	ف . . . . . f	ـ . . . . . ʿ	a

## PERSIAN

پ . . . . . p	چ . . . . . <u>ch</u>	ژ . . . . . <u>zh</u>	گ . . . . . g
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